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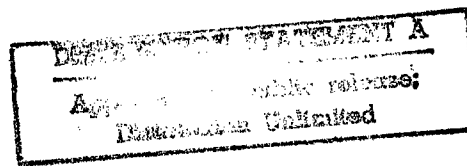
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21 April 1988



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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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**Grossu CC Plenum Speech Reviews Party Work
In Reform Effort**

*18000226a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in
Russian 19 Jan 88 pp 2-4*

[Unattributed report on speech by S. K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian CP Central Committee at the 7th Plenum of the Moldavian CP Central Committee held 16 January 1988 in Kishinev: "Account Concerning the Work of the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro With Regard to Administration of Restructuring In the Republic"]

[Excerpts] Comrades!

The Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro submits for your discussion this account of its work with regard to administration of restructuring in our republic. The political significance of this account stems from the need for in-depth and comprehensive analysis of what has been done during the first stage of restructuring, and by the need to evaluate that work thoroughly and together draw up a constructive program to guide our actions in the future.

We are fully justified in ascribing positive changes in a number of areas of economic and social development to the restructuring aktiv. However, change for the better is occurring too slowly. In a number of cities, rayons and labor collectives restructuring has not really gotten under way yet; it is hampered by a lack of initiative, inertia and a formalistic attitude toward the job, and amounts to no more than superficial changes.

Plenums of party committees and assemblies of communists devoted to discussion of elected organs' accounts concerning their leadership in restructuring have concluded in our republic. These plenums and meetings, as well as today's Moldavian CP Central Committee Plenum, are an important stage in our preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The majority of plenums and meetings gave a thorough evaluation of work by the Buro, party committees and their apparatuses and leveled constructive criticism at the organizational listlessness, scant influence on the economy and social problems, and bureaucratic working style which have been observed in some places and outlined tasks aimed at improvement of the quality and effectiveness of party leadership. The results and conclusions of this great party council were widely used in preparation for this account by the Central Committee Buro.

Prior to the plenum the members and candidate members of the Central Committee and the members of the Auditing Commission of the Moldavian CP had an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the theses of the Buro's account and to present those theses to party organizations. During discussion of these theses approximately 1,200 comments and suggestions were made. In

addition, there were meetings of members and candidate members of the Buro with members of various categories of workers and the party aktiv. The Central Committee, press organs, radio and television received numerous letters and suggestions pertaining to ways of improving the economic mechanism, ideological work and intra-party activities. Sociological research has been conducted. Extensive materials on these matters were distributed to plenum participants.

The specific orientations of the Central Committee Buro's work during the accounting period were defined in a program of organizational-political measures drawn up for the purpose of implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 16th Moldavian CP Congress and CPSU Central Committee plenums, as well as by the fundamental significance of CPSU Central Committee resolutions on the working style of the Moldavian CP and our unsatisfactory realization of CPSU Central Committee decisions relative to eradication of deception and padding of accounts.

Positive changes in the Central Committee Buro's work style in its guidance of restructuring have been observed in our republic. Those changes are supported by the opinions of members of the Central Committee, the party aktiv and the communist party. However, we self-critically acknowledge that by no means all the Central Committee Buro's opportunities have been utilized and that the organizational and ideological measures that we have taken have not always yielded the desired results. It seems to us that we have been unable to create a situation that would imbue each Central Committee member and all cadres with a sense of involvement in and responsibility for everything which occurs in our republic party organization; we have not managed to ensure, though we emphasized this, that all party committees function as organs of political leadership and with the requisite ambitiousness and high level of efficiency.

The first secretary of the Central Committee bears particular responsibility for shortcomings in the work of the Buro. I would like to state frankly that I have not yet been able to take in fully all the ramifications of restructuring in our republic or to fully master a new style of leadership and ensure more effective actions by the Buro and the Central Committee apparatus in all areas of politics, ideology and economic, cultural and social development. I feel that I should delve more deeply and practically into the practices of restructuring party work and increase the responsibility of Central Committee secretaries and heads of party committees and republic organs for timely and high-quality execution of decisions and for the establishment of order and discipline at all levels and in every position. I consider it a personal priority that I do considerably more restructuring work, put greater efforts into the deepening of democratization in all aspects of social and political affairs and bring about radical economic reform and acceleration of the social and economic development of our republic.

The Central Committee Buro regards radical restructuring of party work, its democratization and improvement of work pertaining to cadre selection and assignment as priority tasks. On more than one occasion we have spoken at plenum and Buro meetings about the seriousness of losses borne by our republic in the past as a result of the deeply rooted bureaucratic centralism and "closed-door" style of operations on the part of administrative cadres in those years, and as a result of many of the people's interests being ignored.

Of course, lessons have been drawn from this. In the period since the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum there has been a renewal of our republic's Central Committee's Buro, Secretariat and apparatus. Five heads of ministries and departments have been replaced, as have 147 persons in the Central Committee nomenklatura, including three raykom first secretaries who were guilty of major shortcomings in their work and deviations from standards of morality and ethics.

The Buro is striving to carry out this work on a planned, long-range basis. Staff members' ideological, moral and business qualities are now being studied in greater depth. In this respect a major role is played by certification and interviews, which until recently were not given adequate attention. Work with cadres is acquiring ever more democratic content, and the practices of competitive nomination and election by secret balloting to administrative party, soviet and economic posts are now widespread. Our approach to the formation of a cadre reserve and work with that reserve has changed: the selection of candidates for inclusion in the reserve is now conducted publicly, with direct discussion by collectives and party organizations; there are cadre reserve schools, and special days and weeks for cadre understudies; exchanges programs are being conducted. In our opinion noteworthy experience in work with the cadre reserve has been accumulated by the party organizations of Frunzenskiy Rayon, city of Kishinev.

Much attention is being devoted to party-political education for cadres. In comparison to 1985 the number of persons studying in the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences and at higher party schools has increased by a factor of two. A total of 3,600 people received advanced training through republic-level party courses. Plans have already been made for cadre training through the end of the current five-year plan and up to the year 2000.

Measures taken by the Central Committee Buro and party committees have brought about a certain degree of improvement in the qualitative composition of cadres and encouraged an influx of fresh strength into party, soviet and economic organs and into the leadership of public organizations. In the process of restructuring the business qualities of many experienced workers are also being rediscovered.

However, the style of our work with cadres is being updated too slowly and still falls far short of the required level. Examination by the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat of various aspects of cadre policy as exemplified by party organizations in Kishinev and Benderi, Nisporenskiy and Chernenkovskiy rayons and a number of ministries and departments supports this conclusion. Prior to this plenum a large number of suggestions relative to cadre problems and comments of a critical nature were aired by members of elective organs of the republic party organization and by communists at the local level.

The gist of those comments was that, firstly, there remains a significant percentage of party, soviet and economic workers who are having difficulty eliminating tangles of outdated habits. Typical of those individuals are conservatism in thought and actions, a lack of democratic attitudes, and efforts to jump on the bandwagon of restructuring. As a result the job suffers, and people suffer. Over the past two years 99 administrators from the Central Committee nomenklatura have received party penalties for various abuses, violations of the CPSU Charter, padding of accounts and deception.

The Central Committee Buro intends to resolve acute cadre problems in a swift, efficient and democratic manner and more boldly promote well-trained, promising individuals to positions of responsibility, while also working to ensure that they are harmoniously paired with experienced cadres. We need to support more actively the promotion of women, young people and non-party member specialists. There is only one criterion in this respect: the individual's capacity for radical transformations and his or her desire and ability to work with people.

Secondly, the Buro was criticized on account of the high turnover rate for administrative personnel. The following figures were cited at a plenum of the Kishinev Party Gorkom: since the last party conference 14 of the city's 15 raykom secretaries have been replaced. Over the past two years over one-fourth of all kolkhoz and sovkhoz administrators have been replaced, as well as many ideological workers at the city and rayon levels. And although the majority of these personnel changes are justified, and the turnover rate in the Central Committee nomenklatura did decline somewhat in 1987, this criticism is to a large extent fair. The Central Committee Buro, Secretariat and departments should pay greater attention to stabilization of personnel, eliminate impermissible instances of hasty reassignment of administrative personnel and make better projections of cadre situations.

The ability to work under conditions of economic reform and democratic transformations is not an inherent ability. The Central Committee Buro, Secretariat and departments are urged to spare no effort in teaching this difficult art to party cadres. This is most needed by the secretaries of party gorkoms and raykoms, among whom

there are many new workers. It should be noted that many pressing problems of restructuring at the local level escape the attention of the Central Committee apparatus, which has not yet completely eliminated unnecessary paperwork, technocratism and an administrative-pressuring style from its operations. Although the number of visits to local areas is on the rise, those visits are still of short duration and often are not accompanied by patient "dirty" work with cadres, rank-and-file communists and non-party members, by thorough investigation of the nature of failures. A survey conducted prior to this plenum showed that the city/rayon aktiv has serious complaints concerning the staff members of Moldavian CP Central Committee departments.

The weak organizational role of Central Committee departments, in particular the Organizational Party Work Department, which is under the direction of Comrade V. A. Kazyulin, leads to a situation in which Buro resolutions are not carried out in a timely manner at the local level, and the situation in a number of city and rayon party organizations remains unchanged despite criticism. The Central Committee apparatus should be restructured more rapidly.

The above applies to Central Committee secretaries as well, in particular to Comrade V. I. Smirnov, second secretary. He should work more actively to achieve systematic and well-planned actions by the Central Committee apparatus, devote more attention to seeking out and embodying in party practice such forms, methods and means as will fully reflect the democratic changes which are occurring in intraparty affairs and in the administrative realm, and which would make possible more in-depth analysis and more clear-cut coordination of the functions of state and public organizations. Comrade V. I. Smirnov should take more initiative with respect to study, summarization and creative application of the experience which has been garnered by party organizations in our republic and in other regions of the country.

The Central Committee Secretariat and departments should devote more attention to quality in the formation and work style of the apparatus of party gorkoms and raykoms which have a large number of inexperienced cadres who have not gone through the school of life and public service.

We feel that this plenum will favor bringing up before the All-Union Party Conference the matter of a more clear-cut delineation, set forth in party documents, of the functions of party and soviet organs, definition and inclusion in the CPSU Charter of the status of member of an elected party organ, and the granting to the central committees of union republics, obkoms and kraykoms the right to change the structure of their party organizations' apparatus in accordance with the specific nature of the tasks to be performed in individual cities and rayons.

At a recent meeting of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev stressed that all the threads of restructuring lead to the primary party organization, where innovative ideas should be translated into concrete achievements. During the accounting period the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat considered various aspects of the work of eight different primary organizations. The experience of communists at the Tiraspol Cotton Production Association and the Polselkhoz mash Production Association was recommended for study and widespread application.

However, we must also acknowledge that we have still not really turned our attention to primary party organizations. The Buro is overlooking many key issues in the production-related and social development of low-level collectives. We regard the fact that last year the work of 33 secretaries of party organizations was declared unsatisfactory and that 482 persons on the staff of party committees and party buros were replaced ahead of schedule as a failure on our part.

Considerable significance should be attached to assuring universal party influence and improvement of the party structure. Despite the work which has been done recently there are still 480 independent enterprises and organizations in our republic which have no primary party organizations. A large number of production departments lack a firm foundation for work with people. It is essential that Central Committee departments bring about a turnaround in this area in the near future.

Over the past two years the republic party organization has grown by 8,300 persons, and on 1 January 1988 had a total of 197,745 members and candidate members. Of every 100 new candidate party members 72 are workers or kolkhoz members and 26 are specialists in various sectors. Almost 70 percent of new party members are young people.

However, there has still not been a radical turnaround in the way party members are selected and party ranks strengthened. There are cases of overly hasty selection, a lenient attitude toward persons joining the party and overemphasis on numbers. Over the past two years 2,893 persons have been expelled from CPSU ranks for various negative reasons; this figure includes 335 candidate members.

Naturally we are not calling for a sharp reduction in the acceptance of new members by the party. However we should, allowing for the needs posed by growth, proceed upon the basis of the actual status of party strength in various areas of the economy, striving to ensure that workers have an advantageous position in the composition of party membership and that new members have proper political training.

Another timely issue relates to interpersonal relations among communists and to the moral and ethical foundation of party affairs. During the accounting period the

Moldavian CP Central Committee received twice as many petitions and statements from communists as in the two previous years. In our consideration of personal cases we have attempted to pay careful attention to the validity of the accusations leveled against an individual, trying to determine how objectively that person's actions have been evaluated by his or her primary party organization, gorkom or raykom.

We have garnered a certain amount of experience, and new work forms have come into being. However, in real life we run into the contradiction between people's increasing activism and the bureaucratic style prevalent in many areas of educational work. We have not yet been able to rid our ideological and political work of clichés and stereotypes; we have not given that work a solid connection with real life and with the urgent tasks of restructuring.

Within the Central Committee Buro Comrade N. F. Bondarchuk is responsible for these matters. He has only held the position of Central Committee secretary for a relatively short time, but he has had adequate time to show progress in the most important areas of party guidance of ideological work. Thus far his efforts to apply modern methods and approaches have been hampered by the slowness of his actions and his caution, which is not always justified. N. F. Bondarchuk needs to give priority attention to the basic areas of educational work, show greater initiative and aggressiveness, forge ideological cadres and the members and workers of creative unions into a cohesive unit on the basis of genuine party and state positions and principles, and work to stay ahead of trends in the public life of our republic.

Central Committee ideological departments and their chiefs, comrades S. D. Roshka, I. M. Grosu, Ye. M. Karayon and B. M. Stratulat, should undergo serious restructuring and work with greater efficiency. They do not always make in-depth analyses of the work of party committees and primary party organizations, and they are not doing enough to help those committees and organizations renounce old forms and methods, approaches and habits in their educational work.

Analysis of the ideological situation attests to the existence of political immaturity, ethnic exclusiveness and even nationalistic tendencies among a certain segment of workers, young people and members of the intelligentsia. The Central Committee Buro, seeing failures in internationalist and patriotic education and guided by the well-known CPSU Central Committee resolution on this subject, submitted this matter for discussion at a meeting of the party aktiv. On two occasions the matter has been discussed by the Central Committee Buro. The appropriate decisions have been made. Yet the way in which their implementation has been organized still leaves

much to be desired, realization of planned measures is proceeding too slowly and there is an absence of exactingness with regard to the specific executors of these decisions.

Any negative phenomena should be looked into thoroughly by the party, penetrating to the causes of those phenomena and eliminating them. We must not ignore people's ethnic consciousness and ethnic sentiments, but we also must not toy with them, as has sometimes been done for the purpose of creating pseudo-democracy. The traditions of Bolshevism include principled struggle against ethnic exclusiveness and conceit, Zionism and anti-Semitism, regardless of the forms in which they may manifest themselves. Principles are principles, and they may not be waived.

In recent years some positive changes have taken place in our republic's cultural life under the guidance of party organizations. Nevertheless shortcomings have also come to light in that area of educational work. Many matters, especially with regard to creative unions and their party organizations, have been taken under direct Central Committee jurisdiction, thus cutting the Kishinev party gorkom and raykoms off from this important sector; the Kishinev party gorkom and raykoms have in turn not been active enough. There is also no indication that the republic Ministry of Culture, Goskino or Council of Ministers wish to assume responsibility and have a skillful and tactful influence on the situation in the creative realm.

The Central Committee Buro favors broad glasnost and open dialogue with communists. Its attention is always focused on matters pertaining to the most important channel of glasnost: the mass media. A number of resolutions have been passed. The practice of regularly briefing journalists on various aspects of the republic party organization's operations has been established.

However, the Buro and Central Committee departments do not always succeed in getting editorial boards to provide in-depth coverage of the progress of restructuring. The Central Committee organs — MOLDOVA SOCHIALISTE (Comrade M. D. Yermiya, editor), SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA (Comrade I. A. Panfilov, editor), VYATSA SATULUY (Comrade V. N. Petrash, editor) and the magazine KOMMUNIST MOLDAVII (Comrade V. D. Danilenko, editor) — are still not doing enough to encourage the processes of democratization and fundamental economic reform and to develop glasnost.

As M. S. Gorbachev stressed at a meeting with the heads of the mass media on 8 January, there are many journalists who lack aggressiveness, boldness and initiative, the very new shoots of innovation which need support and all-round development.

Glasnost, criticism and self-criticism are taking ever firmer root in our republic party organization, and there has been a sharp intensification of the struggle against any and all manifestations of ostentation and false depiction of reality. However, we cannot fail to see that efforts to give the illusion of an absence of problems and false prosperity are still the practice in some party committees and organizations. These efforts result in the organization of an excessive number of events and intolerance of criticism "from below," and in the final analysis hamper restructuring. In letters to the Central Committee, communists and workers justly directed our attention to the impermissibility of restoring former approaches which have now been condemned by the party. Further development of glasnost should be the norm in the day-to-day affairs of our republic.

It is also appropriate to bring up the matter of how to combine democracy and discipline. In unskilled hands democracy is easily transformed into demagoguery and anarchy. Analysis indicates that it is often parasitic elements, lawbreakers and other people who shamelessly exploit democracy for their own personal or narrow group interests who assume the role of "champions" of truth and restructuring.

In its efforts to deepen restructuring processes the Moldavian CP Central Committee Buro pays constant attention to the legal basis of restructuring.

However, we have still not seen a radical turnaround in work aimed at universal affirmation of high standards of socialist morality and law in our republic. The number of violations of the law in economic relations is not decreasing. In 36 cities and rayons and in one-half of the oblasts inspected in 1987 instances of account padding and concealment were uncovered once again. There is a large amount of recidivism, and many illegal acts are being committed by teenagers. The religious situation remains difficult. A great deal of fervor has been lost in our republic's struggle to promote sobriety. Work to eradicate drinking, illegal alcohol distillation and drug addiction is often limited to the conducting of campaigns.

The current situation can to a large extent be explained by the fact that measures designed to promote law and order are being implemented piecemeal and without sufficient persistence. Often the situation is not really a matter of concern to party organizations, which do not make the requisite demands on their cadres and do not assume responsibility. Deserving criticism in this regard are the Central Committee Administrative Organs Department (Comrade L. A. Bolgarin), heads of law enforcement departments comrades G. I. Lavranchuk, N. K. Demidenko, A. A. Ryabov and V. S. Pushkash, the first secretaries of party committees, and the heads of public organizations.

Problems pertaining to absolute adherence to our Soviet laws and inculcation of respect for them in every labor collective and at people's places of residence remain to a large extent unresolved due to a lack of attention to them on the part of our chief legislative organ: the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, as well as Central Committee Buro member A. A. Mokuanu. Comrade G. M. Volkov, candidate member of the Central Committee Buro, should be more active with regard to reinforcement of law and order and further improvement in the moral and ethical atmosphere in our republic.

The organs of people's power are the principal link in socialist democracy and self-government. The Central Committee Buro devotes daily attention to the work of soviets and to ways of extending their authority.

However, the work style of soviets and the level of our guidance of them is still changing for the better too slowly. The initiative of the people's elected officials has not been roused in all places, and deputies still have too little influence on the resolution of local and republic-wide problems. Last year's preelection campaign and numerous appeals to the Central Committee graphically demonstrate that people have justified complaints against soviet organs and their executive committees, which have by no means completely overcome bureaucratism and a formalistic, indifferent attitude toward people; too little creativity and initiative are being demonstrated. Deputies and soviet staff members do not need to be sending urgent problems on to offices in the capital for resolution, but should instead be tackling them with their local capabilities and with participation by workers themselves. Communists in executive organs both centrally and at the local level should do fundamentally more work, shake off their inertia and their habits of looking over their shoulders and waiting for signals from above, and the Central Committee Buro should set stricter standards relative to the quality of their work.

Comrade A. A. Mokuanu, Central Committee Buro member and chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, should work more actively on acceleration of the restructuring currently under way in our republic's soviet organs and orient deputies and cadres toward creative, daring decisions which are based on the growing capabilities of organs of people's power in this period of universal democratization. He should work harder to bring the republic's problems to the attention of central organs and to get those problems resolved, and he should enter more fully into the role of a political figure for the masses. He, as well as Comrade V. K. Pshenichnikov, Central Committee Buro candidate member, need to bring about a sharp increase in the activism of deputies and permanent commissions and in the role and authority of sessions of the MSSR Supreme Soviet; they should also seek new forms for getting the broad masses of workers involved in the guidance of social processes.

Restructuring poses us the task of intensifying party leadership in public organizations and expanding their role in educational work and the process of democratization. One year ago the congresses of Moldavian trade unions and Komsomol were held; there the correct guidelines for restructuring of those organizations' work were set forth. Today, however, it must be noted that trade union and Komsomol organizations, and in particular their administrative organs, are still vacillating and taking only timid steps toward restructuring, yet we are tolerating this situation.

Many issues pertaining to increased production-related and social activism on the part of blue- and white-collar workers, inculcation in those workers of a communist attitude toward labor, reinforcement of democratic principles of production management and improvement of working, living and recreational conditions for working people are remaining unresolved, for which trade unions are partly to blame. Comrade G. I. Yeremey, Central Committee Buro member and chairman of the Moldavian Trade Union Council, should focus his attention on finding the swiftest possible solution to those problems and to extending the restructuring work already done within trade unions. He should better combine assertiveness, enthusiasm and concern for the authority of trade union organs with critical evaluation of their work, and he should work more persistently to achieve greater efficiency on the part of trade union cadres and the trade union aktiv.

The potential of our republic Komsomol, which has over half a million members, is obviously not being used to its fullest. As before, the work of many Komsomol organizations is far removed from the urgent needs of young people. Some young men and women do not have an inclination to persistent and conscientious labor. Often Komsomol staff members and activists yield their positions of principle without a fight in the struggle against parasitism and are not always critical in their evaluation of the situation. Despite the numerous shortcomings in the work of the Komsomol Central Committee (Comrade I. I. Buzhenitsa) this also attests to inadequate work by the Central Committee Buro and party organizations, insufficient assistance by them to the Komsomol, and low standards for Komsomol cadres. We feel that we should have greater confidence in young people, skillfully combine assistance with comradely criticism of their mistakes, resolutely work to free ourselves of a condescending tone and excessive administrative interference, grant young people real independence in matters concerning their labor, studies, daily lives and leisure, and do everything we can to support socially significant initiatives by Komsomol organizations.

Many party organizations underestimate the diverse independent groups which have come into being recently. Negative tendencies are being manifested in the activities of some of them. In this connection we must not only study in depth the processes occurring in various segments of the populations, but also react in a

lively manner to them and exert the appropriate ideological and organizational influence on independent associations in a timely manner. In order to meet people's diverse needs we must continue to improve the functioning of volunteer societies, hobby clubs and athletic organizations.

Comrades! The success of restructuring will to a large extent be determined by how energetically we resolve problems of acceleration of social and economic development. Therefore the Central Committee Buro gives priority attention in its work to implementation of economic reform, encourages the practice of self-administration by collectives and is working to realize tasks pertaining to the supply of food, consumer goods and housing for working people.

During the first two years of the 12th Five-Year Plan the volume of industrial production increased by 11.7 percent, as compared to a plan goal of only 8.2 percent. Goals for increases in production of goods and labor productivity were met ahead of schedule, in time for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Rural workers met their 1987 plan goals for the sale of livestock products to the state on 20 November 1987. A total of 59,700 tons of meat, 162,900 tons of milk and 115.5 million eggs were sold above plan. Sales of wool exceeded plan goals by a factor of 1.5. A reduction in the material- and energy- intensiveness of national income was achieved. The capital-output ratio of our economy rose by 4.3 percent in 1986.

However, restructuring of economic management practices is still not being carried out energetically and purposefully in all places. The things that we have achieved have been achieved mainly through utilization of superficial factors, by establishing the most basic order. As for the deeper untapped resources of acceleration and potential opportunities, we have still not put them to work fully.

By way of self-criticism it should be noted that the Central Committee Buro has not devoted enough attention to ensuring realization of planned measures designed to increase production efficiency. At the local level there is still a strong inclination toward old methods of managing enterprises and farms, and this has a direct effect on the results of economic activity.

Our republic as a whole has not managed to achieve planned levels with respect to a number of important indices. Last year in industry the plan for contract shipments of goods was fulfilled by only 97.5 percent, and the total amount of non-delivery increased by a factor of 1.5 as compared to the previous year. This has had a negative effect on the operations of many subcontractors and led to breakdowns in the public's supply of a number of goods. In agriculture, over the past two years there has been a shortfall of 195,000 tons in grain sales to the state, and sales shortfalls of 32,000 tons of sunflower seeds, 334,000 tons of fruit, 105,000 tons of

vegetables and 1.3 million tons of sugar beets. In the area of capital construction a total of 310 million rubles of funding allocated for capital investment remained unutilized, as well as 212 million rubles of construction and installation funds. The Ministry of Motor Transport did not meet its plan goals for freight transshipment, and the technical and operational indices of its work have worsened. River transportation did not meet its plan goal for number of passengers served.

The Central Committee Buro has not succeeded as it should have in bringing about economic development primarily on the basis of intensive factors. Many important decisions concerning intensification of production have been held up at the mid-level branches of administration, or else simply thwarted by traditional errors in the operations of enterprises, construction projects and organizations.

Take labor productivity as an example. The 1987 plan for this index has not been met by 109 industrial enterprises, or 24 percent of the total number of such enterprises. In agriculture output per worker in 1986 was 6,943 rubles, or 626 rubles less than the national average. The main reason for this is the predominance of manual labor. In industry it accounts for 32 percent of all labor, 55 percent in the field of capital construction, and 76 percent in the agricultural sector. This is roughly the same situation as existed several years ago. Quite a few resolutions have been passed concerning this situation yet, as you can see, there has been no substantive change.

The problem is that we have not succeeded in fully restructuring the psychology of cadres; many of them have not changed their attitude toward scientific-technical progress or mechanization of labor and still do not have a sense of the dependence of collectives' social welfare on acceleration of those processes, being of the opinion that our republic's human resources are limitless. As before, plans for the development of science and technology are not being carried out. We can no longer tolerate this. All cadres must take serious action to rectify this situation.

The Central Committee Buro deems unsatisfactory the work done to improve product quality. As before, the technical level and quality of many items remain low. The introduction of state acceptance of goods at 21 industrial enterprises last year prevented the shipment of more than 120 million rubles worth of low-quality goods to consumers. A total of 3,900 tractors, 18,800 refrigerators, approximately 1,700 submersible pumps, almost 3,000 suites of furniture and other goods were returned for additional work. Goods worth 220,000 rubles were classified as irreparably flawed.

Comrade V. F. Semenov, Central Committee secretary, should deal in a more in-depth and practical manner with matters pertaining to production efficiency. He still lacks the ability to approach a problem in a comprehensive manner. Sometimes he spreads himself too thin and

does not place enough reliance on party committees. Comrade V. F. Semenov must more rapidly free himself from stylistic shortcomings in his work, struggle resolutely against administrative-command methods in the operations of economic organs, ensure clear-cut interaction between Central Committee supervisory departments and party gorkoms and raykoms for the purpose of intensifying party influence on restructuring of the economy, and work resolutely to solve key problems upon which the work of ministries, departments and economic organs to introduce the new economic mechanism depends.

The Central Committee Buro must intensify its work to improve practices of agriculture and livestock breeding and to implement agrotechnical measures on intensive technologies which are up to present-day standards. Scientific production associations should spearhead this work. They need to restore the positions which they have given up, strengthen their key farms, introduce cost accounting principles on a broad scale and focus the attention of scientists and specialists on problems to which farms are awaiting solutions.

Irrigation agriculture should do more to assist with the performance of the tasks posed by intensification. A wide gap has arisen in this respect. Over the past two years there has been a shortfall of 38 million rubles in the utilization of allocated capital investment funds. Yet many regions of our republic, especially in the south, continue to suffer from a water shortage. It is time to make the transition from fabulous struggles and exciting flights of fancy to concrete, constructive actions. Because it is quite obvious that it will be impossible to change our republic's water balance without using water from the Danube, and that the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, academic science and applied science must work more rapidly to resolve all aspects of this problem.

The Central Committee Buro regards accelerated development of the material base of agricultural products processing and storage as an urgent task. Quite a few decisions have been made regarding these matters, yet those decisions have not been properly implemented. There continue to be huge losses of agricultural products. For instance, due to an acute shortage of capacities in the meat sector a substantial percentage of livestock, including livestock procured from the public, is kept for too long or else sent outside the republic for processing.

The republic State Agroindustrial Committee and republic Gosplan, Central Committee Buro member A. N. Sangeli and Central Committee members V. G. Kutyarkin and V. A. Ryabchich are committing major errors in investment policy, have done virtually nothing to orient the Ministry of Construction, "Agropromstroy" and other construction departments toward priority

development of the processing industry and storage facilities and are not taking the appropriate steps toward utilization of the capital investment funds allocated for those purposes.

It is essential that the Central Committee Buro be less tolerant of instances of an irresponsible attitude by the heads of enterprises and construction organizations toward realization of plans for the expansion and modernization of processing and storage facilities. For example, we have exhibited unjustified tolerance of the actions of Comrade V. V. Borts, Central Committee member, who has virtually ignored the republic Central Committee and Council of Ministers resolution on construction of hay storage facilities on farms.

We must admit frankly that restructuring is impossible if cost accounting does not take hold. The facts convincingly attest to this. The Tiraspol Trailer Plant was among the first enterprises in our republic to make the transition to full cost accounting and self-financing. However, that transition was not accompanied by improvement in its internal economic planning system. Of its 38 brigades not a single one is still working under full cost accounting today. No goals relative to conservation, product overhead and profits are being set for them. The enterprise has not worked out a system of mutual material responsibility on the part of production departments for fulfillment of obligations. This is evident in the results of the plant's financial operations. In 1987 it paid fines amounting to 560,000 rubles, including 400,000 rubles in fines for non-delivery of goods. It only fulfilled its last year's plan goal for profits by two-thirds, and there was a shortfall of over one million rubles in its payments into economic incentive funds.

This is not only the labor collective's failure, but ours as well, a failure of party committees and economic organs. It should be noted that we have by no means done everything possible to ensure the efficient functioning of enterprises under the new conditions. Most importantly, we have not required that our cadres do enough work in preparation for the transition to full cost accounting. As a result, during the current year we continue to encounter instances like that mentioned above.

The Kishinevskiy Traktorny Zavod Production Association, which has been converted to operations under conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing, produced 100 tractors less than its goal of 235 units during the first 10 days of January. It met only one-third of its 10-day plan goal for consumer goods production. And workers on the assembly line are probably right when they say that "everything has stayed the same, and everything is working just like it did before. The only difference is that they posted a notice on the shop bulletin board stating that as of 1 January we would be on full cost accounting." That statement needs no commentary. And the enterprise's party committee and the Frunze Party Raykom should draw the appropriate conclusions from it.

The Central Committee Buro sees an urgent need for each labor collective to organize real instruction to teach people the principles of cost accounting. Currently one finds total ignorance of the nature of this matter and erroneous clarification of the social aspect of the reform on every hand. Meetings and discussions with workers, kolkhoz members and specialists have shown that people are having trouble defining even in general terms the nature of the new forms of economic operations. Comrades, this is a serious failure on our part.

One of our most important tasks is to ensure real democratization of enterprise administration and the effective functioning of labor collective councils. Today we are forced to admit that at many enterprises getting elected has been about the extent of their activities. Many of these councils, if not a majority of them, have not become an effective working organ of the collective in the struggle for radical restructuring of economic activity and intensification of production. Some of them have, scarcely created, already become an auxiliary branch for the director, "rubber stamping" draft documents prepared in advance by the administration and being used in the capacity of expeditors and errand boys.

The Central Committee Buro regards radical restructuring of administration of the economy as one of its most important tasks today. A new general outline for the administration of our republic's economic complex has been drawn up; it provides for a decisive shift from administrative to economic methods of management, maximum utilization of scientific and technical advances, implementation of the party's strong social policy, maximum utilization of the human factor, and creation of the most favorable conditions for the efficient functioning of enterprises, which are the fundamental component of the economy. The new outline envisions a sharp curtailment of the extent of the administrative-command system, a one-third reduction in the number of administrative organs in our republic, a reduction in the objects of administration by 27 percent, a 50-percent reduction in the size of the staff of the administrative apparatus and elimination of mid-level administrative links.

Ministries' administrative apparatuses should focus their attention on improvement of the technical level of their sectors, introduction of scientific and technical advances and new organizational structures, production-related science, expansion of economic ties to foreign firms, establishment of joint ventures and accumulation of hard currency.

We are still far from our goal of fully satisfying workers' demands for many food products.

Comrade A. N. Sangeli, Central Committee Buro member, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of the MSSR State Agroindustrial Committee, has been too slow to master the multifaceted

aspects of the development of our republic's agroindustrial complex, has not set sufficiently high standards for the State Agroindustrial Committee's cadres with regard to immediate resolution of urgent problems in that area, has not made adequate use of accumulated experience, and has not been energetic enough in implementing the tasks included in the Food Program.

We must admit that the Central Committee Buro as well as has not made sufficient demands on the heads of the agroindustrial sector in view of their excessively slow realization of the Food Program. We have made inadequate use of the Central Committee apparatus's capacity for monitoring the agroindustrial sector's activities and ensuring that decisions are implemented.

The Central Committee Buro is intensifying its work to realize the Food Program. We intend to direct the attention of party gorkoms and raykoms to the fullest utilization of production potential in the agroindustrial complex so as to ensure absolute fulfillment of plans for increases in food production. Gross agricultural production is slated to increase by 3.2 percent.

Not a single party, soviet or economic administrator should forget the acuteness and urgency of resolving social problems. As was recently noted in PRAVDA, of the over 4,000 letters that newspaper received from Moldavia in 1987 one-half were complaints and critical comments, and most of these concerned the housing situation, as well as the work of local soviets, which frequently do not resolve everyday problems in a timely manner and are guilty of creating red tape and excessive bureaucracy. In the letters it was noted that the republic has been slow to eliminate deception, acceptance of bribes and abuses of power. We have not eliminated instances of reprisals for criticism or of violations of labor legislation, and the struggle against drinking is not being pursued actively enough. Letters received by the Moldavian CP Central Committee have also drawn attention to these facts.

Comrades!

The Central Committee Buro has reported to this plenum concerning the principles, approaches and methods employed in its work to direct restructuring in our republic. We have attempted to direct your attention to the most difficult and acute problems. We have given an evaluation of the personal contribution made by each Buro member and candidate member toward resolution of those problems. Undoubtedly, we by no means consider our evaluations to be the exhaustive and final word; that should be provided by this plenum.

The Buro of the Moldavian CP Central Committee cannot express satisfaction at its accomplishments, because too much of what we planned was not accomplished. We have traveled the first part of the road. Now we are embarking upon a new stage, a stage where all our

policy and all our decisions will be transformed into concrete actions and will become reality. This will require tremendous efforts by everyone together and by each person individually.

12825

First Secretary Nishanov Sets Uzbek CP Course
18300162 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian
31 Jan 88 pp 1-4

[Account of report of R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, at 30 January Uzbek CP Central Committee Ninth Plenum; for a translation of the Plenum Information Report see DAILY REPORT: SOVIET UNION, FBIS-SOV-88-035, 23 February 1988, pp 52-53]

[Text] Comrades!

A new political and moral atmosphere has now been created in Soviet society thanks to the persevering activity of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, and people's assertiveness and interest in production and social matters are rising.

The policy of democratization and fundamental economic reform and the large-scale foreign policy actions of our party and state aimed at disarmament and a strengthening of general peace are creating dependable internal and international guarantees of perestroika. Like all Soviet people, the working people of Uzbekistan ardently approve and support the party's domestic and foreign policy and are fully resolved to accomplish the scheduled transformations.

There is no more important and urgent task for the party and the people currently than perestroika. The success of this revolutionary cause will depend primarily on the energy, purposefulness and force of example of the party organizations and each communist. It is a question of having done with political and organizational sluggishness and the unenterprising approach of party committees and primary party organizations and all personnel and of ridding ourselves once for all of a stagnant attitude and conservatism and the old, routine methods of work and leadership and on this basis moving strongly ahead.

"And this can be done," M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasizes, "only by the efforts of all communists and on the paths of the utmost development of democracy within the party itself, the exercise at all levels of the principle of collective leadership, the development of criticism and self-criticism, supervision and a responsible attitude. Only then will a spirit of innovation be born and inertia and stagnation become intolerable."

I. For an Improvement in the Moral and Political Atmosphere in the Republic

We must today with the utmost candor and party-minded exactingness evaluate the activity of the Central Committee buro since April 1985 and stringently analyze the progress of realization of the guidelines of the 27th congress and the CPSU Central Committee January and June (1987) plenums. The harsh lessons of the truth which sounded forth from the platforms of the congress and the plenums demand a high-minded discussion of the situation in the republic and, mainly, the stagnation tendencies, which have yet to be overcome, and the irresoluteness which has been tolerated in the eradication of the consequences of negative phenomena, which is as yet holding back an acceleration of Uzbekistan's socioeconomic development and the multiplication of its contribution to the union division of labor.

The preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference are to impart considerable impetus to an improvement in the entire work being done on perestroika. The reports of the party committees and bureaus on the leadership of perestroika at plenums and meetings of communists, which culminate in our republic party organization in today's Uzbek CP Central Committee plenum, were an important, responsible stage en route thereto.

In sum, the evaluations of our work expressed by the communists agreed that the potential of party influence on perestroika has yet to be switched on at full power. And it is significant that in many reports the communists demanded that certain people be held personally responsible for the slowness and inactivity. Some 627 party committees and party bureaus were given unsatisfactory marks. Communists demanded that meetings in 184 organizations, in which the reports failed to achieve their purpose, be canceled and held again. In the course of the reports no confidence was expressed in 73 gorkom and raykom buro members, and they were replaced, and more than 6,000 party committee and party buro members, including almost 1,100 primary and shop party organization secretaries, were not reelected.

The reports clarified a great deal. We sensed the growing assertiveness of the communists and their unwillingness to continue to put up with shortcomings and their aspiration to step up work sharply. This was manifested primarily in the primary party organizations, which is particularly important since the local party component is the forward edge of the struggle. But neither here is there always due aggressiveness and sufficiently clear-cut leadership on the part of headquarters, which is what the raykoms, gorkoms and obkoms are.

There was no shortage of speakers at the obkom plenums, seemingly, and criticism was heard also. But not everywhere, however, and at the Andizhan (Comrade M.M. Aripdzhanov) and Navoi (Comrade A.S. Yefimov) obkom plenums, specifically, the reasons for the abrupt

reduction in the indicators of economic and social development were revealed. But there was plenty to talk about—and seriously, at that. In the past year in Andizhan Oblast the plan for the sale of industrial output with regard for supplies was frustrated, the cotton plant yield fell by 6 quintals and the quotas for the production of practically all types of agricultural crops were not fulfilled. In Navoi Oblast one out of every three enterprises failed to cope with contract commitments, and a mess was made of the assimilation of capital investments and the introduction of fixed capital, schools, preschool establishments and hospitals. The farms failed to cope with the plans for the production of cotton, meat, milk and other products.

At some plenums the speeches of the buro members were of the nature of accounts of oneself. For example, the speeches of the following secretaries: S.D. Saydaliyev of the Tashkent Obkom, M.K. Aralbayev of the Kara-Kalpak, P. Shametov of the Surkhan-Darya and S.N. Bakhranova of the Bukhara were shallow and insipid. They did not attempt even to analyze their work self-critically, at times engaged in an exchange of fire with those who pointed out shortcomings to them and indulged in self-exculpation and accounts of self. In his speech V.A. Lozitskiy, first secretary of the Karshi Gorkom, leveled "criticism" at the obkom buro for having permitted the obkom first secretary to perform a great deal of work without having been duly solicitous with regard to his health. The question arises: what kind of example of mutual exactingness and stringency are the party leaders setting the rank and file communists?

Permit me now, comrades, in a spirit of perestroika, guided by the dire need for a radical improvement in our activity and with all candor to express the viewpoint of the Central Committee buro on a number of most important questions.

Let us begin with what is most important. The tasks of a strengthening of party and state discipline and the increased responsibility of the personnel for all areas of economic and social building have been and continue to be particularly pertinent for us. Only with the aid of these levers and relying on the initiative and support of the party organizations and the work force can we solve the problems which have for a long time now been a cause of concern for the republic's affairs not only to the communists and workers of Uzbekistan but the whole party and the entire Soviet people.

The CPSU Central Committee recently adopted several most important documents in respect of our republic, on questions of admittance to the party and a strengthening of party ranks in the Tashkent Oblast party organization included. A number of decisions was adopted pertaining to the removal of serious shortcomings in cotton growing and other sectors of agriculture. Tremendous state assistance in the use of Uzbekistan's natural and economic

potential and the construction of major industrial and hydroeconomic facilities is being rendered and other measures are being implemented.

Particularly great concern is being manifested in questions of personnel policy. We have been afforded an opportunity for reinforcing all components of the party, soviet and state machinery with competent people and training an effective personnel reserve, using all regions of the country.

All the higher is our responsibility for ensuring that each communist and each worker be aware of this concern and assistance and that use be made with the maximum benefit to the cause of every opportunity for extricating the republic from the hole more rapidly.

In analyzing the work of the Central Committee Buro in the past 2 years it has to be mentioned that this was a difficult and complex period. The struggle which developed in the party and the country for perestroika has been and continues to be under the republic's conditions of an extraordinarily tense nature. Strict and large-scale measures to have done with embezzlement, figure padding and bribery were required. The problem of cleansing our personnel corps of the rust of corruption, permissiveness and mutual protection is still acute.

Particular work has been performed in this direction. A majority of officials on the register of the CPSU Central Committee and the Uzbek CP Central Committee has been replaced. Party demands on the personnel for the state of affairs in the areas entrusted to it are becoming stricter. The collegial approach in the work of the Buro and Secretariat is being strengthened, their supervisory functions are being intensified and more attention has come to be paid to the style and methods of the work of the party committees and primary party organizations.

This has borne fruit and been reflected in the state of affairs in the economy and the social sphere. Industrial production in the 2 years grew 8.3 percent. The production of fiber and other cotton products increased. There was somewhat of a growth in purchases of potatoes, vegetables, meat, milk and eggs.

In the 2 years approximately R4.5 billion of capital investments were channeled into the development of the social sphere, which was R180 million more than envisaged by the 5-year plan. More schools, children's pre-school establishments, hospitals and clinics were built in 1986-1987 than scheduled by the 5-year plan quotas.

But this is not securing fundamental change in the republic. Due dynamism in its advancement is lacking, the temperature has risen, as they say, but is still far from boiling point.

The Central Committee Buro and the republic government have been unable to break through the inertia of stagnant phenomena and trends in the development of

the economy and culture and the revision of organizing and political work. This has been reflected primarily in the most important indicators of the economy's development. National income in the 2 years was to have grown 10.7 percent, but the growth was in fact only 1.4 percent. If it is considered that in this period the population increase was almost 6 percent, it is clear that in terms of provision per capita we not only have not advanced but have fallen back even.

Compared with the 5-year plan quotas, there was a shortfall in the gross social product of R4.2 billion, and agriculture accounts for more than half this amount. There was a big letdown in capital construction, and the plan for the introduction of fixed capital from all sources of financing was underfulfilled to the extent of R1.2 billion. The situation in the agro-industrial complex deteriorated, and instead of a planned increase of 9.9 percent, the gross product declined 3.8 percent. The planned labor productivity growth was not secured in any sector of the economy. The capital-output ratio declined in the material production sectors.

Output quality is not rising in the republic, the chronic shortage of consumer products is not being overcome and demand for goods and services is not being met.

Relapses into embezzlement, figure padding and bribery continue. The communists and workers are today rightly asking us a multitude of questions concerning insufficient aggressiveness in the struggle for an improvement in the moral atmosphere of society and the removal of instances of a callous, formal bureaucratic attitude toward people's needs and requirements.

The answers to many of these questions concerning the progress of perestroika in the republic were given at the recent Uzbek CP Central Committee Eighth Plenum. In his speech Comrade G.P. Razumovskiy expressed serious concern at the state of affairs in the republic party organization and the extremely slow and sluggish progress of perestroika in Uzbekistan. The analysis made in this speech of socioeconomic development, the moral and political atmosphere and organizational and party work in the republic showed graphically that it is only with difficulty that we are mastering both the new approaches and new methods and are as yet being insufficiently decisive in freeing ourselves from the old negative phenomena.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary rightly observed that much had been done in the republic in recent years, but only what could not have failed to have been done. As far as initiative proper, aggressiveness, militancy and intolerance of stagnation and shortcomings are concerned, these Bolshevik attributes are as yet manifestly lacking in many party committees and party organizations, in the Uzbek CP Central Committee included. It has not always displayed firmness and an uncompromising approach in the fight against negative phenomena and their exponents.

As is known, from 1978 through 1983 over 4.5 million tons of raw cotton were falsely reported in the republic, for which approximately R4 billion were fraudulently obtained from the treasury and squandered. This became a nutrient medium for large-scale embezzlement and illegality, of which advantage was taken by inveterate criminals of the Adylov type and other "gold cobras," about which the newspapers were writing recently in bitter, but justified reproach of us. Many of those guilty of defrauding the party and the state were deservedly punished along party and criminal lines. However, neither the Central Committee Buro nor the republic Council of Ministers scrupulously investigated the responsibility of the republic authorities and individual officials for what was in fact this economic sabotage.

For example, Aytmuratov was until recently in charge in the Uzbek CP Central Committee of questions of the development of the agro-industrial complex. He became reconciled to figure padding, window dressing and the defrauding of the state. The Uzbek CP Central Committee did not hold him strictly to account, and he was transferred privately, without a public evaluation, to an executive position in the republic State Agro-Industrial Committee (Gosagroprom). Criminal proceedings were instituted against him in the end.

R. Ashuraliyev and B. Rakhimov were at different times responsible for this area of work in the Council of Ministers. And in respect of them also the Central Committee Buro displayed unwarranted liberalism and spinelessness. B. Rakhimov was quietly relieved of office, and a preferential personal pension was set aside for him. A.R. Ashuraliyev remained for a long time Samarkand Obkom first secretary and was released only recently in connection with his transfer to other work, executive work, what is more—Uzbek SSR first deputy forestry minister.

K. Akhmedov, former Gosplan chairman, cannot fail to have known of the mass figure padding in the republic, the abuses, the defrauding of the state and the actual undermining of the republic's economy. But he overlooked these outrages, became reconciled to them and did not once blame his position of appeasement.

The participants in the plenum know full well what catastrophic proportions were assumed by the figure padding in Bukhara, Kashka-Darya, Surkhan-Darya, Khorezm and Tashkent oblasts and the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, where a considerable number of former party and soviet officials and managers were punished along party and criminal lines. However, it has to be acknowledged that here also the Central Committee Buro failed to hold the leaders of these oblasts properly to account for having cheated the state. The former first secretaries of the following obkoms: Gaipov of Kashka-Darya, Karimov of Surkhan-Darya, Khudaybergenov of Khorezm and Musakhanov of Tashkent were originally sent on honorable leave and provided with substantial pensions.

And the inveterate criminal Karimov, former first secretary of the Bukhara Obkom, was coolly appointed deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources. On the initiative of the Central Committee Buro Khudaybergenov was at the end of 1984 nominated even for the title of hero of socialist labor. The CPSU Central Committee did not support this proposal, of course.

The Uzbek CP Central Committee 16th Plenum severely criticized the activity of the Kara-Kalpak Obkom for unsatisfactory leadership of the economy, serious breaches of socialist legality and numerous instances of bribery, corruption and protectionism. But in accordance with a Central Committee Buro recommendation, former Obkom First Secretary Kamalov was sent on a responsible assignment abroad.

Irreparable damage was done to the training of personnel by Orlov, former candidate of the Central Committee Buro and head of the Organizational and Party Work Department. This assistant and loyal "associate" of Rashidov contributed by his criminal actions to the mass corruption of executives. However, even he, however strange it might seem, was, in accordance with a recommendation of the Central Committee Buro, awarded a pension. Criminal proceedings have now been instituted against Orlov also.

The indecisiveness and, to be blunt, political lack of principle of the Central Committee Buro were manifested to the greatest extent in respect of former Central Committee Secretary R.Kh. Abdullayeva. It took 3.5 years to recognize the true colors of this disguised "figure," who in the guise of perestroika pursued a willful and unsound line in ideology.

Most flagrant instances of figure padding, window dressing and abuse of office were uncovered in Tashkent Oblast, where the obkom first secretary was for a long time Musakhanov, against whom criminal proceedings have now been instituted. Together with him in the leadership of the oblast were the present Central Committee Buro members comrades V.A. Antonov and T.A. Alimov. They also are morally responsible for window dressing. But we have not yet heard from them a frank condemnation of their unscrupulous positions in respect of the so-called "Tashkent figure-padding technique".

Comrade V.A. Khaydurov, candidate of the Central Committee Buro, also prefers to keep quiet in connection with the negative aspects of the past. The republic People's Control Committee, which he heads, is failing to display due resolve and perseverance in the eradication of relapses into embezzlement, figure padding and other manifestations of mismanagement. It is displaying insufficient personal initiative and drive in the fulfillment of individual Central Committee assignments and avoiding a critical analysis of major urgent problems in the economic and the social sphere.

The Central Committee plenum has a right today to inquire why such unscrupulous actions in the activity of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro have been allowed. It means that a firm pivot and strict, unbending position toward guilty parties and the exponents of negative phenomena have yet to be cultivated.

Such liberalism and connivance are being conveyed to other party committees of the republic also. Of those dismissed for negative reasons, 45 former officials of the Central Committee register and 110 of the obkom register continue to hold executive positions. In Dzhezak, Surkhan-Darya and Tashkent oblasts executive positions are held by one out of every four of persons replaced for abuses and other malfeasance. Not one obkom, gorkom or raykom has yet summoned up the resolve to make a proper party evaluation of the number of executives who have been exposed as bribers and against whom for various reasons criminal proceedings have not been instituted.

Instances of the thoughtless transplanting of personnel from place to place are making themselves felt, as before, and we once again have instances of abuse on the part of raykom first secretaries even. Subjectivism in deciding personnel questions is being displayed, for example, on the part of Comrade K.S. Salykov, member of the Central Committee Buro and first secretary of the Kara-Kalpak Obkom. Outwardly a collegial approach is observed here, and many shallow, enervating meetings and sessions are held, but there is a manifest absence here of a clear-cut allocation of duties and party responsibility.

The article "Allowance for Office," which was published recently in PRAVDA, was a serious rebuke of the Central Committee Buro. It induces disturbing conclusions. There has been discussion repeatedly in recent years of the fact that we need to rid ourselves most strictly of figure padding and window dressing and emphatically have done with any attempt at deception and embellishment of the true state of affairs. But the incident involving the republic Ministry of Motor Transport showed that a firm stance toward this intolerable phenomenon has not been cultivated in the Central Committee Buro and that certain members thereof are inclined to display leniency where unbending scrupulousness is needed.

G. Zakhritdinov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Gosplan Deputy Chairman A. Makhmudov and Minister A. Azimbekov, who were punished by the Central Committee Buro along party lines, were recently dismissed from office, but, unfortunately, Comrade G.Kh. Kadyrov, member of the Central Committee Buro and chairman of the Council of Ministers, attempted to extenuate the guilt of the figure padders in every possible way. And to no purpose for the high office which he holds makes it incumbent upon him to be courageous and high-minded.

We must always remember Lenin's instruction concerning the inevitability of punishment and the personnel's moral responsibility for its conduct and our irreconcilability toward shortcomings. It is a question not of brutality and assault and battery of the personnel but of the authority of the republic party organization and its capacity for self-purification.

Life will again repeatedly test each of us for strength and consistency. It will not forgive us the slightest weakness. Uncompromising struggle is needed against all that affects the eradication of the consequences of the negative phenomena. Only then will we be able to rid ourselves of many serious defects in our management.

II. The Economy—Main Direction of Perestroika

Comrades!

Our entire work pertaining to perestroika is gauged primarily by the practice of the Central Committee Buro's leadership of the republic's socioeconomic development and actual results in economic and cultural building.

Certain plus aspects of production activity have been cited above. But to evaluate the state of affairs in the economy of Uzbekistan as a whole, it is extremely disquieting and unsatisfactory. An analysis of the results of work in 1987 shows the republic's big lag behind the changes taking place in the country. The rate of increase in national income in our republic is three times lower than for the union. In industry we are lagging behind by a factor of 1.5. In agriculture, given an increase in the country in average annual production compared with the 11th Five-Year Plan of 9.3 percent, here, as already mentioned, a reduction was allowed to occur. Indicators are falling in other sectors also.

As a whole, industry continues to run in place and in some respects to regress. The average annual rate of increase in industrial production has declined. In the last 5-year plan it constituted an annual 4.7 percent, but in the 2 years of the current plan, an average of 4 percent, which is considerably below the planned target.

The capital-output ratio continues to decline. Whereas in 1985 a ruble of fixed capital in the national economy produced 43 kopecks of output, in 1987, 38 kopecks. Percentage fulfillment of contractual commitments last year amounted to 97.7—one of the country's lowest indicators.

We are expending much effort on drawing up a variety of comprehensive measures and specific programs which are not buttressed by specific organizing work. Not one of the six comprehensive programs drawn up and approved by the Central Committee Buro in respect of the industrial complex is being fulfilled in full.

The republic Council of Ministers has adopted many decisions for the technical updating of production. But what has been done in practice? In industry as a whole the fixed capital withdrawal factor constituted only 2.1 percent. Given this pace, the complete replacement of the production machinery in industry will take us 35-40 years. History has not allotted us such a timespan.

Last year 53 percent of industrial enterprises failed altogether to undertake the introduction of new equipment. As a study carried out in the course of preparation for the plenum showed, of the 96 robotized production engineering complexes, one out of every five was not working last year. Equipment with numerical programmed control at the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances and the Ministry of Agricultural and Tractor Machine Building is being used to the extent of 70-80 percent, and of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building and Ministry of Furniture Industry, 60 percent.

Consequently, only 19 enterprises of the republic's machine building are manufacturing products which correspond to the world engineering level.

The Central Committee Heavy Industry and Machine-Building Department (Comrade A.F. Zmiyevskiy) and the Economics Department (Comrade Sh. Khazhimuratov) are failing to analyze and counteract these stagnant tendencies and are conniving at the fact that the very production program of a number of most important sectors has been drawn up such as to ensure that the work be of the minimum load and results.

The conservative position of executives of many ministries, departments, associations and enterprises on matters of S&T progress is not being duly evaluated on the part of Comrade A.S. Ikramov, secretary of the Central Committee. He is reconciled to the fact that many executives are locking in technical backwardness.

In addition, problems of S&T progress have bred many smart operators, and big money is being cast to the winds. The story of the failure of the republic automated control system (ASU) may serve as an example. Its development has been under way since 1973. The total spent to this end has amounted to approximately R300 million, but the program has not been completed. In the head enterprise for the creation of the republic ASU—the "Kibernetika" Science-Production Association—on the other hand, 364 theses for doctorates and candidate's degrees have been defended, and numerous children and relatives of a number of executives have been raked up here and have made a "scientific" career. The Central Committee Buro intends in the very near future investigating this scrupulously and in detail.

An important area is realization of the Comprehensive Program of the Development of Consumer Goods Production and Services. There are big tasks here. Thus it is envisaged that the manufacture of consumer goods will have increased by a factor of 1.5 almost by 1990.

However, we must not be bewitched by these figures. Growth, and sharp growth at that, is necessary right now. The republic is in literally a critical situation in connection with the nonsatisfaction of effective demand owing to the nonbalancing of the commodity turnover plan with commodity resources.

Yet in the 2 years of the 5-year plan there was a shortfall in the plan for the production of consumer goods in retail prices of almost R400 million. A particularly big lag was allowed to occur by the sectors headed by comrade ministers E.A. Taymazov, G. Kurbanov, P.K. Nugmanov, A.G. Manannikov and B.I. Bugrov.

Nor are due demands being made of the managers of group "A" enterprises, who still do not consider the production of goods in mass demand their vital concern. The report of Comrade P.S. Maksudov, director of the Uzbek Refractory and High-Temperature Metal Works, on measures to expand the production of consumer goods and enhance their quality was submitted to the Central Committee Buro for discussion by the appropriate departments literally on the eve of the plenum.

What had the communist executive and member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee brought to the Buro? Nothing, as it turned out. Whereas today the works is manufacturing consumer goods to the extent of 22 kopecks per ruble of wages, by the end of the year it is intended increasing this indicator altogether by... 2 kopecks. And instead of uncovering the enterprise's potential, the departments which prepared the question are going along with this pittance. And the Central Committee secretary also is ratifying the project, in which there is not even a whiff of real party exactingness. I would think that Comrade A.S. Ikramov is capable of pointing out to certain executives the absence of due exactingness, sluggishness and spinelessness in leadership and ensuring in the area in which he is in charge an emphatic restructuring of the style and methods of work.

A fundamental improvement in the leadership of capital construction is called for. No breakthrough is as yet taking place here. The plan of the 2 years in the main indicators—introduction of fixed capital, capital investments and construction and installation work—was not fulfilled.

The Central Committee Buro has not succeeded in overcoming the braking mechanism which has taken shape in capital construction. The planning authorities, ministry and department executives and local party and soviet authorities simply cannot rid themselves of an aspiration to include in the plan as many facilities as possible, taking no stock of actual possibilities and

economic expediency. Whereas in 1985 the proportion of incomplete construction amounted to 90 percent, in 1987 it increased to 93 percent.

Nor is there a reduction in the number of long-term construction projects, which are costly for the republic national economy. There was a product shortfall of R500 million in the 2 years owing to the failure to introduce production capacity. We intend to closely examine the plans for 1989 to ensure their utmost tautness, balance and economic expediency.

Nor does the work of the contract organizations correspond to the demands of the day. In many of them the standard of engineering preparation and organization of construction work is extremely low, big holdups and losses of work time are allowed to occur, due coordination of the activity of the specialized subcontract organizations is lacking and the standard of production and performance discipline is low. There is a shortage of skilled workers in construction, and the special-drive method is not being developed. These are precisely the problems on which Comrade V.N. Lobko, secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, must focus more attention, and I would like to reproach him here for the fact that he is at times failing to display due exactingness toward construction organization executives and putting up with their shortcomings.

The preparation and transition of the subdivisions to full cost accounting and self-financing are proceeding slowly in construction. The Central Committee Department of Construction and Municipal Economy and its head, Comrade Z.A. Batyrov, need to display greater perseverance and exactingness in these matters.

The work of transport and communications does not correspond to the increased demands. The Central Committee department (Comrade A.S. Boyekov) and the party committees are exercising inadequate leadership of perestroika in these sectors. Transport costs remain considerable, numerous justified complaints are being received about the operation of passenger transport, as before, and effective struggle to prevent accidents and eradicate negative phenomena is not being conducted. Service of the population by all forms of communications is not improving.

A heavy load of unsolved problems has piled up in agriculture—a very important sector of our economy. There has been a shortfall in the supply of products since the start of the 5-year plan of almost R2.2 billion. Labor productivity growth in the public sector should have constituted 10.3 percent, but in fact constituted 3.8 percent or three times less.

Plenums and activist meetings have been held, dozens of decrees of the Central Committee Buro and the republic government have been adopted and bulky programs and measures have been drawn up on questions of the development of the agro-industrial complex. But the

majority of them are gathering dust on desks and in safes of departments of the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the Gosagroprom and having absolutely no effect on the state of affairs in the fields and at the livestock sections.

Use of the republic's land and water resources and natural-economic potential remains unsatisfactory, and the yield of the irrigated hectare is extremely low. Last year it constituted only 23 quintals of cotton, 200 quintals of vegetables, 35.5 quintals of corn for grain, 107 quintals of melon crops and 69 quintals of grapes. In many oblasts and rayons these indicators are even lower.

Many comrades locally, and in the republic authorities also, are still at the slightest criticism in justification putting the blame on the past. I would like to emphasize that this futile position leads backward and not forward, particularly in cotton growing. The procurements plan last year was fulfilled by only 26 rayons and 353 kolkhozes and sovkhozes. One-third of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes obtained less than 20 quintals per hectare.

The level of mechanization of the work, which for a number of past years has not exceeded 40 percent in cotton harvesting, has declined. Not once has the Central Committee Buro made a scrupulous evaluation of the anti-machine operator mood, nor was it repudiated at the Seventh Plenum devoted specially to problems of cotton growing. But, after all, this is the question of questions. Enough of shifting the entire burden of operations connected with the cultivation and harvesting onto the women and trainees.

Inconsistency and lack of adherence to principle were displayed by the Central Committee Buro in the enlistment in the raw cotton harvesting of trainees and students also. Having announced for all to hear at the start of last year the decision not to enlist schoolchildren in the cotton harvesting and having gained the universal approval of the republic's working people, the Buro then caved in in the face of difficulties, succumbed to the arguments of half-hearted managers and adopted a decision on the mobilization of schoolchildren. As a result, it broke its word, the plan was not fulfilled and people's trust in the party decision was undermined. Such dual approaches and fluctuations must not be allowed. Everyone must take care of his job. If things are tackled properly, the Central Committee Buro has, evidently, sufficient forces and perseverance for due order to be brought to bear on this question.

We need to raise the prestige of cotton and the profession of cotton grower in every possible way. Of course, the mass figure padding and window dressing have greatly damaged cotton growing. But honest, conscientious people, our illustrious kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers and specialists, who are giving the entire warmth of their human heart to the white boll, must not be shown in a bad light.

Hundreds of thousands of people, primordially real cotton growers who love and know their business, are employed in the sphere of cotton production. They are proud of their profession, which they have inherited from their fathers and grandfathers. Cotton is their well-being, their honor and their pride. I repeat, it is necessary to raise in every way the prestige of the profession of cotton grower, and their selfless labor is deserving of the most heartfelt words.

It is time to seek and find new approaches, raise people to creative labor and create for them all the conditions necessary for highly productive work. By a number of adopted decrees concerning agriculture the CPSU Central Committee has literally untied our hands. Everything is now possible, as they say: applying intensive techniques, improving selection and seed breeding, decisively raising the level of mechanization, of all harvesting operations primarily, developing progressive forms of the organization of labor—leasing, the contract, financial autonomy—and organizing well-oiled work at the commodity dairy farmsteads.

It is essential to decisively rectify matters in animal husbandry. The plan for meat production was fulfilled last year 95 percent. Much livestock falls victim to disease. Zoo-veterinary and breeding work is organized extremely inadequately. And, the main thing, there is as yet no addition to the meat and dairy products on the working people's table.

Owing to the lack of conscientiousness of officials of the Gosagroprom and the high-handed activity of Comrade I.Kh. Dzhrabekov, candidate of the Central Committee Buro, personally, the CPSU Central Committee decision on provision of townspeople with vegetables and fruit thanks to the 30-percent sale thereof by the farms at agreed prices is being ignored. Is it permissible that only R6 worth of these products are sold in state trade per capita—seven times less than hard liquor?

There are manifestations of indiscipline and frequently local preference also on the part of oblast organizations in the supply of products to Tashkent. Given fulfillment of the overall procurements plan, Surkhan-Darya Oblast last year supplied Tashkent 2,300 tons of meat short, nor did Kashka-Darya Oblast meet the quota. No oblast, aside from Dzhizak, met the quotas for the supply to Tashkent of melons and fresh fruit. And it is wrong that no one was held in any way responsible for this.

All this testifies convincingly for the umpteenth time that an absence of new approaches and a longing for the old, beaten track are being manifested most distinctly in the agro-industrial complex. Many republic executives, from the Council of Ministers down, are still ignoring the development of the capacity of processing industry, and in a number of instances the enterprises have been reduced to a desperate condition. There are lines for the manufacture of canned goods, for example, which are only 80 percent equipped. Of the three lines for the

production of fruit juice and beverages at the Samarkand Winery, only two are used, at the Krasnogvardeysk Works, only half of them. The processing level is low at the meat-packing plants and dairies. Inadequate use is being made of capacity for the manufacture of confectionary.

Mention also has to be made of such a big question for our republic as an improvement in the use of water resources. It must be made clear to everyone that the sole path here is water preservation. There is no alternative.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted the special decree "Priority Measures To Improve the Use of Water Resources in the Country". The task set in agriculture was that of securing a significant reduction in water consumption in irrigable farming, the consistent comprehensive modernization of operating irrigation systems and the utmost application of water-saving irrigation techniques. It was deemed expedient to have conveyed to consumers as of 1991 economic quotas of the water charge and to have reduced unit consumption of water per hectare by 15 percent by the end of the current 5-year plan. In industry it is essential to reduce unit consumption of water per unit of output by no less than 20 percent, and in the municipal economy, by 15 percent.

Consequently, we need cardinal new approaches in land reclamation. The government's decision concerning a revision of investment policy in hydroeconomic construction and the channeling into meliorative modernization of 70 percent of all capital investments allocated to this end affords extensive opportunities. We need to put long-cultivated land in order. But at the same time, on a prudent scale and with regard for population growth, to develop new land. Without the assimilation of new land we will be unable to tackle agricultural problems successfully. But comprehensive assimilation to ensure that high results are obtained at once. The Kara-Kalpak ASSR and Tashkent, Surkhan-Darya and Kashka-Darya and practically all other oblasts of the republic have big potential for this.

The solution of all these problems must be directed and monitored by Comrade V.A. Antonov, secretary of the Central Committee. It has to be noted that he does not always penetrate affairs of the agro-industrial complex in depth, being distracted by current operational instructions, and loses sight of the fundamental, long-term issues. An adherence to old, outmoded forms and methods of work, nonacceptance of the new and an absence of bold approaches and decisions are noticeable on his part.

Comrades! The main direction of perestroika in the national economic complex is the economic reform which is under way and the transition of enterprises and organizations to full cost accounting, self-support and self-financing.

Some 1,248 enterprises and organizations were operating under the new conditions in the republic last year. A further 500 enterprises, organizations and farms, including the Surkhan-Darya Oblast agro-industrial complex in full, have been switched to the new management mechanism as of the start of the present year.

The first experience of perestroika in the economy shows that where the economic reform has been approached creatively and thorough preparations were made, good results are being obtained. For example, having secured an extensive level of productivity and profitability, the workforce of the Tashkent Garment Association has acquired an opportunity to better solve questions not only of production but housing construction also.

Unfortunately, such examples are as yet isolated. The overall picture testifies that the Central Committee Buro and the republic government did not opportunely direct the party, soviet and management authorities toward all-around and in-depth preparation for the economic reform. The first weeks of work in the new year are showing that the workforce in such large-scale enterprises as the "Uzbekkhimmash" and the "Sredazkabel" are not ready for full cost accounting and self-financing. In 25 days of January the machine builders, for example, fulfilled the month's program 60-70 percent. What kind of stability and balanced and rhythmic work is this?

Many enterprises are failing to cope with contract commitments, which has brought them to the verge of bankruptcy. Per the results of the past year more than 1,600 enterprises and organizations, for which the sum total of profit shortfall and losses amounts to R700 million, have found themselves in a difficult financial situation.

Things are even worse in the agro-industrial complex, in which one out of every three sovkhozes finished the year with losses, and overdue debt on loans and suppliers' accounts amounted to R210 million.

The Central Committee secretaries dealing with the economy need to come to grips thoroughly with the course of transition of the enterprises, organizations and farms and direct the party organizations and committees toward organizational and political support for work under the new conditions. The republic Council of Ministers and Comrade G.Kh. Kadyrov personally need to bring all ministries and departments to the point of in-depth study of production and economic issues, being particularly exacting toward the planning and finance authorities.

It is necessary to draw the correct conclusions from the mistakes that have been made. The program of the financial recovery of the republic's economy which is being drawn up at the present time must be under the constant supervision of the Central Committee Buro and the government.

Fundamental economic reform is impossible without a reorganization of the management structure. The managerial machinery in our republic is unduly swollen, the number of ministries and departments is great and oblasts and rayons have sometimes been formed without justification. In the period 1970-1985 the numbers of persons working in management increased by a factor of 1.7, and expenditure on maintaining them, by a factor of 1.8. The proportion of managers among employed persons has risen to 14.5 percent, which is one of the highest indicators in the union republics. A ministry here is responsible for 3.7 fewer enterprises on average than in the Ukraine, and almost 10 times fewer than in the RSFSR. Whole labyrinths and blind alleys of bureaucracy, in which life work becomes bogged down, have taken shape.

A detailed study of proposals for an improvement in the management structure and a reduction in managerial personnel, of no less than 50 percent in the central staff of ministries and departments, and of the oblispolkoms, of 30-35 percent, included, is being completed currently. It is contemplated streamlining the administrative-territorial division.

This is a complex problem, but it has to be tackled quickly and energetically. The steadfastness of the Central Committee Buro and the conscientiousness of all our personnel will be required once again here. It should be noted in general that many problems in the republic require of us today steadfastness and boldness.

One of the most serious such problems is the use of labor resources.

Particular work has been performed in the republic since the adoption of the CPSU Central Committee decree on this question. Almost 300,000 persons have in the 2 years been enlisted in socially useful labor (with allowance made for training). But a very great deal has not been done, and there are few results as yet. Work has not begun on the elimination of sectoral and territorial disproportions, the priority development of labor-intensive industries and their relocation to medium-sized and small cities and rural areas.

The attempts which are being made to resettle people within the republic and, particularly, outside it are very timid. For many years we have been unable to provide with personnel even the virgin land sovkhozes of the Golodnaya and Karshi steppe, if only from the same Fergana Valley. Not to mention how extraordinarily slowly questions of the organized recruitment of manpower for the development of the non-Chernozem land and the development and enterprise of Siberia, the Far East and other regions of the country are being solved.

And, finally, one further fact, which was not customarily spoken about previously—the demographic situation. The rate of increase in the republic's population is over three times greater than the all-union indicator. In the last 6 years it has grown by 3 million.

Such a rate of demographic growth is far outpacing the republic's economic and social development. The contradictions between the high increase in population and labor resources and the low level of efficiency of social production and between the need for social benefits and the actual possibilities of their satisfaction are coming to light increasingly clearly. The proportion of dependents has amounted to over two-fifths of the total population. Yet the productivity and output of a worker in our republic in both industry and agriculture are lower by a factor of 1.5-2 than on average for the country. Whence the considerably smaller per capita income than the all-union indicators.

Calculations testify that if this trend continues, the living standard of the population in the foreseeable future will grow negligibly, and the existing discrepancy not only will not be reduced but will increase. For this reason it is essential that the Central Committee Buro, the government and the public of the republic at large perform purposeful organizing and explanatory work pertaining to prudent family planning and a rise in the standard of the population's labor and social life.

III. Concern for People—Decisive Condition of Stimulation of the Human Factor

Man and the full satisfaction of his material and spiritual requirements—this is the object and criterion of all efforts pertaining to perestroika. However, if we evaluate the work of the Central Committee Buro from these standpoints, it has to be candidly acknowledged that little has been done as yet.

Among the neglected sectors, health care remains the most backward. The republic "Health" program drawn up earlier is not being fulfilled owing to its insolvency. At many large-scale enterprises, on farms and in inhabited localities the elementary conditions for rendering the simplest medical assistance are lacking. We have 25 percent fewer doctors per 10,000 persons than in the union as a whole. Medical practitioners' qualifications are low, and there is a shortage of doctors of narrow specialties, pediatricians primarily. A particularly disturbing situation has come about in the countryside, where the bulk of the population lives, but where less than 20 percent of the republic's doctors works. The majority of paramedic-obstetric centers, outpatient clinics and district hospitals is housed in adapted premises lacking normal sanitary-hygiene conditions, and infant and maternal mortality is growing.

We cannot and do not have the right to put up any longer with such an irresponsible attitude toward people's health. And we have a right today to level serious complaints at the following Central Committee members: Comrade S.U. Sultanova, deputy chairman of the

Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, Comrade S.M. Bakhranov, minister of health, and Comrade N.T. Tukhliyev, head of the Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, who are responsible for this sector of work.

A special government commission was set up recently to look into health care problems. The decision of the Central Committee Buro and republic government on the transfer of released administrative buildings for use as hospitals and medical establishments was adopted in accordance with its proposal, and other measures are being adopted to strengthen the health service. The Central Committee Buro will examine this question in the very near future and do everything to rectify the state of affairs in this important area of work.

Trade and services are rightly called the mirror and barometer of the economy. Unfortunately, this barometer is in our republic showing complete calm. Yet there are serious omissions in the organization of this work, and numerous violations of the rules of Soviet trade continue.

In the runup to and during the New Year holiday alone over 180 instances of the hoarding of such commodities in particularly short supply as meat, chicken, butter, sausage and confectionary products, citrus fruit and others in a total of more than R450,000 were brought to light in the stores and sales outlets of Fergana and Namangan oblasts and Tashkent city.

There has been no qualitative change in the standard of service. Rudeness, loutishness and disrespect toward the customer and client are encountered frequently in the store, restaurant and service outlet, and waste and embezzlement are on the rise. Instead of persistently improving their work, the managers of state and cooperative trade organizations frequently engage in cover-ups.

Greater persistence and purposefulness in tackling tasks of the restructuring of trade and consumer affairs must be displayed by Comrade V.I. Ogarok, member of the Central Committee Buro, and Comrade V.Yu. Zorin, head of the Central Committee Trade and Consumer Service Department. They are duty bound to respond more sharply to shortcomings, step up their activity appreciably in combating abuses and shortcomings in the sectors and rid themselves emphatically of any kind of rogues and light-fingered people.

Among the urgent tasks, the housing problem is exceptionally serious. A housing program up to the year 2000, which was approved at a session of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet, has been drawn up in the republic. We are faced with building 209 million square meters of housing and thus doubling the available housing in the republic. But all this is just figures as yet. The plan provides for the current year the introduction of 7.4 million square meters, and for the 5-year plan as a whole, 42.6 million.

The simplest calculations show that this pace will not secure accomplishment of the set tasks. In order to make them reality it is necessary that all party, soviet and management authorities embark in earnest on the construction of accommodation and have done with the dependent approach and, in accordance with the example of the Tashkent Aviation Production Association imeni Chkalov, develop self-reliance efforts based on local resources. Such opportunities have been found in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR's Turtkul'skiy Rayon also. The Central Committee Buro intends most strictly monitoring fulfillment of the housing program, and we will return to it repeatedly. But everything must be done to ensure that it not remain one further splendid piece of paper, but one not buttressed by practice, as is frequently the case in our republic.

An example of an indifferent, bureaucratic attitude toward the needs of the working people is the actual thwarting of fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on the development of horticulture and truck gardening. When it becomes a question of the workforce of enterprises and construction organizations, the Council of Ministers, the Gosagroprom and the Tashkent Oblispolkom, hiding behind state interests and the irrigated land shortage, impede the solution of questions in every possible way. But there is land, it transpires, for the staff of their departments.

Availing themselves of their position, the Gosagroprom (Comrade I.Kh. Dzhurabekov), the UzSSR Council of Trade Unions (Comrade Kh.A. Alimova), the People's Control Committee (Comrade V.A. Khaydurov), the Gosplan (Comrade I.I. Iskanderov), the MVD (Comrade U.S. Rakhimov) and a number of other republic ministries and departments have already allocated plots of land for their employees. Is any further comment necessary here? It is necessary to display concern primarily for those working at enterprises and construction projects and on the farms and to create all the conditions for them.

Incidentally, the soviets of people's deputies have a special role in the implementation of social policy. They possess all the rights and powers for the more active solution of economic and social questions and the pooling of the resources of the enterprises, organizations and farms on their territory for the purpose of providing the cities and inhabited localities with amenities. However, the steps being taken by the soviet authorities in this direction are as yet of an episodic, timid nature.

There is still much formalism in the work of the soviets, and they have yet to abandon old forms of work, and cliches of the past thinking make their presence known even in their sessional activity. I have to admit that, as UzSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, I also was unable to find effective levers for accelerating the restructuring of the activity of the republic's soviets. The

Supreme Soviet Presidium must adopt the measures necessary for developing their initiative and increasing exactingness in the accomplishment of social tasks.

And altogether I would ask that I be understood correctly. I do not detach myself from the aktiv and am not criticizing anyone indirectly. As a member of the Buro and now first secretary, I, together with everyone, bear the entirety of responsibility both for the shortcomings which have been permitted and for ensuring that the necessary dynamism, depth and scope be imparted to the processes of perestroika, that a solution of urgent problems of the republic's socioeconomic development be found and that due acceleration be imparted to it.

In speaking of the special and serious nature of our problems it is by no means the Central Committee Buro's intention to emphasize their hopelessness. No, it is a question of the very strenuous and responsible work which lies ahead and of the necessity of it being done more rapidly. Immediately following this plenum the Central Committee Buro will undertake detailed studies of the draft plan for 1989 in order, with the participation of the workforce and relying on its initiative, to invest it with additional potential. And it is considerable. Merely raising the equipment shift-work factor to two could produce an additional R6 billion worth of products. Big opportunities reside in progressive experience, socialist competition and a strengthening of labor discipline.

The results of work in 1987 and the questions which were not solved in full measure will create particular strain in the third year of the 5-year plan and bring to the fore tasks of the utmost acceleration of economic and social development in the year that has just begun and compensation for the lag that has been allowed to occur. There are opportunities and potential for this in practically all sectors of the economy.

It is necessary in industry in order to reach the parameters envisaged by the 5-year plan for 3 years, with allowance made for the lag, to secure, at a minimum, a growth of 6.1 percent, and a labor productivity growth rate, of no less than 4.4 percent.

To reach the boundaries of the 5-year plan it is necessary in the construction complex this year to perform additional construction and installation work to the extent of R316 million, for which it is necessary to raise labor productivity by no less than 5 percent.

With regard for the reduction in the volume of the procurement of raw cotton the task that is set in agriculture is that of ensuring the unconditional introduction of cotton-alfalfa rotation. The Central Committee Buro is confident here that, skillfully disseminating the experience of the frontrunners and innovators and raising the yield of the fields, the republic may annually before the end of the current 5-year plan be producing in addition to the fixed plans 130,000-150,000 tons of raw cotton.

The interests of the cause demand that strict order be brought to bear in respect also of the productiveness of other agricultural crops. The Central Committee Buro believes that it is necessary in the current year even to raise the yield of grain to 50 quintals a hectare, of potatoes, to no less than 150, vegetables, 250-280, melon crops, 150, fruit, 70-80, and grapes, to no less than 100 quintals per hectare. This will make it possible to eliminate the unprofitability of these crops.

We are duty bound to take a considerable step forward in increasing the productiveness of animal husbandry also. The per forage cow milk yield in the public sector needs to be increased annually by 150-200 kg and thus by 1990 to have reached the 2,900-3,000 kg mark. There is a real prerequisite for an increase in the average daily weight gains and on this basis for the surrender of livestock of increased fatness weighing no less than 450 kg. The achievement of these goals is possible only given the creation of a strong fodder base, a further expansion of the areas under fodder crops and their increased yield.

The work will be, as you can see, exceptionally complex and crucial. In order for the scheduled plans to become reality it is essential to double and triple intensity in all areas of economic and cultural building. And the Central Committee, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and the primary party organizations are called on to head this work.

IV. Persistently Restructuring Organizational-Party and Ideological Work and Updating its Forms and Methods

Comrades! Perestroika, the main driving force of which is the human factor, is moving to the fore in stimulation of the social consciousness and the cultivation of new thinking. This is making increasingly high demands on political-educational and ideological work.

Evaluating its activity self-critically, the Central Committee Buro believes that we have not achieved a fundamental breakthrough in the practice of party leadership of the ideological sphere. The adopted policy of the updating thereof lacks dynamism, consistency and a balanced approach and the connection of ideological-educational work with problems of an acceleration of the republic's socioeconomic development.

In this sphere, as in many others, the shortcomings have been caused to a certain extent by miscalculations in personnel work on the ideological front. Many people who are not fit for executive positions have been promoted to these responsible posts from standpoints of willfulness, personal devotion and friendly relations. It has to be frankly confessed that members of the Central Committee Buro also have failed to display due stringency and firmness in deciding personnel questions of the ideology departments.

And today also are continuing to put up with the fact that a number of them are headed by insufficiently competent persons. S.Sh. Kurbanov, chairman of the State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade, is failing to cope with his duties. Big violations have been revealed in the republic's Main Tourism Administration (Yu.K. Yusuvaliyev, chief) and in the book trade. There are also instances of certain executives attempting to compensate for their incompetence by arrogance and pride.

Mass-political work and lecture propaganda are still inadequately linked with the tasks of perestroika, frequently evade the urgent requirements of the times and are in the grip of outdated forms and methods. The organization of political and economic education is in need of abrupt stimulation.

At a recent meeting in the CPSU Central Committee Comrade M.S. Gorbachev set new tasks for the whole ideological sphere, particularly the press, television and radio, which to a large extent shape the social background of perestroika. However, it is as yet difficult to judge from our press how perestroika is progressing in the republic, whether the process of positive change is gathering momentum and what which is new and healthy is becoming firmly established in practice and what is impeding this.

A powerful medium of ideological influence—republic television—is failing to cope with its tasks. A significant portion of television programs is featureless and entertaining in a tasteless manner and suffers seriously from a lack of novelty and pointedness in the presentation of issues. The reasons for this are the absence of a truly creative atmosphere in the workforce and a slackening of work with the personnel. The situation is exacerbated by the lack of coordination in the actions of Comrades I.T. Yusupova and Sh.G. Yakhyayev, executives of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, who to the detriment of the cause are engaged in an explanation of personal relations and an endeavor to shift onto one another the responsibility for serious blunders.

Shortcomings in ideological work are not simply a sum total of individual mistakes and failures. They are frequently interconnected and interconditioned, exacerbate one another and act as a brake on perestroika. Yet the Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department (Comrade Sh.Z. Komalkhodzhayev) is still not tackling them in dialectical unity. Full use is not being made of the opportunities afforded the ideological personnel by glasnost and the democratization of social life.

Radical changes are necessary in the cultural sphere also. The practice of a benevolent and concerned dialogue with the intelligentsia and an atmosphere precluding administrative regulation and prohibition and subjective

evaluations and approaches has come to be firmly established recently. Central Committee secretaries' meetings with masters of literature and art and the creative youth are becoming the norm.

At the same time, however, the policy of continued democratization of artistic life is sometimes encountering resistance both in the managerial milieu and on the part of small numbers of artistic people who are perfectly suited by a directive approach and tutelage and who are accustomed to living under the conditions of prestige of office. The policy of development of the initiative and independence of cultural institutions and the artistic unions is not yet being perceived by many artists in its main aspect—as a means of enhancing their own civic and professional assertiveness and responsibility.

It is time for Comrade U.R. Umarbekov, minister of culture, to step on the gas. This ministry's strange attitude of noninterference in the process of the formation of a healthy moral and psychological climate in the workforce and its endeavor to shift onto the party authorities any in any way serious question cannot ultimately be allowed to be asserted infinitely. After all, it is group, mercantile and all kinds of shop interests which are still foremost in the activity of the artistic unions, theaters and other art establishments. The work of the State Committee for Cinematography is a special question today. To be blunt, Comrade A. Turayev, who heads this division, is doing a poor job.

Problems of the international education of the working people and the improvement of inter-nation relations are cause for serious concern. This is not problem-free work, as it was customary to believe until recently, and it needs to be studied in depth. The activity of Central Committee departments, many party committees and ideological authorities lacks a precise system and a critical evaluation of results, and negative features are glossed over. Many comrades prefer not to see that the party and state machinery, the law enforcement authorities and scientific and cultural establishments have taken shape, party admittance has been effected and nominations for official awards have proceeded with national distortions.

Nor can we overlook the fact that publications have appeared recently which at times have interpreted too sweepingly questions of the correlation of the national and the international and the role of language. Attempts are being made once again to overemphasize this aspect or the other of a historical event or hero without their investigation under specific-historical and socio-class conditions. The Writers Union (Comrade A. Yakubov) and the UzSSR Academy of Sciences (Comrade E.Yu. Yusupov) have adopted an aloof position here.

Traditions and internationalism have strong roots in the republic. They were forged in the joint proletarian struggle with the Russians of the working people of the East for social liberation and consist of the genuine fraternity and mutual assistance since the first days of the building

of socialism. They were manifested strikingly in the harsh war years and in the rebirth of Tashkent, which had been devastated by a natural disaster. They consist of the present-day support for the republic of the center to extricate it from the hole. We cannot forget this for one moment and must organize our work on the international education of the working people on this invigorating basis.

The religious situation remains complex. The Central Committee Buro and departments have not reached the point where the party committees and organizations make a scrupulous evaluation of instances of communists deviating from the struggle against the influence of Islam and other religions and attempts to pass off religious-patriarchal customs as national traditions and local specifics. Even for many communists and executives the Muslim "science of life" is proving far more authoritative than the requirements of the Rules and the standards of socialist morals. How otherwise can we explain the instances of M. Sherkulov, former first secretary of the Samarkandskiy Raykom, participating personally in the construction and upkeep of a so-called "holy place" and of I. Kuvandykov, former deputy chairman of the Samarkand Oblispolkom, illegally allocating substantial material resources for the construction of a mosque?

The Central Committee Buro and the party committees are not making a proper political evaluation of the incessant instances of women's self-immolation as a sign of protest against the debasement of their honor and human dignity. There were 270 such scandalous cases in 1986-1987. Among those who have committed suicide or attempted it there have been trainees and Komsomol members. There have been particularly many such cases in Kashka-Darya, Samarkand and Dzhizak oblasts and in Guzarskiy, Urgutskiy, Kitabskiy and Payarykskiy rayons.

For how long will we close our eyes to this, engage in self-deception and be led by those who are attempting to smooth over the seriousness of the question and to cover up its sociopolitical essence in every possible way with a variety of far-fetched factors?

Decrees pertaining to questions of atheistic work are essentially being torpedoed. The struggle against feudal-bai morals and patriarchal customs has practically been wound down in Kara-Kalpakia, Andizhan, Namangan and Kashka-Darya oblasts and in other regions also. It is not declarations and assurances concerning "rectification of matters" but unbending will and specific, well-conceived, consistent actions to eradicate in people, primarily communists, the split mind which must become a rule of the party committees' activity.

And one further matter. It is time to have done with the theoretical illiteracy of many executive cadres, of the highest level included. The well-known negative phenomena in our republic became possible to a certain

extent because they found favorable soil in the world-outlook omnivorousness and formalism and show which have substituted for the political education of the personnel.

A tight knot of unsolved problems has accumulated in public education. The level of tuition and education in the schools, VUZ's and technical schools has lagged sharply behind the demands of scientific and technical progress. It has reached the point where outfits are simply refusing to admit many graduates of our VUZ's to the shop floor. Reform of the high and higher schools has become frozen. The Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education (Comrade M.S. Salakhitdinov), Ministry of Education (Comrade O.S. Abbasova) and the State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education (Comrade R.Kh. Dzhrayev) are simply not emerging from the role of detached observers.

Problems of an improvement in the organizational forms of the management of science and its integration with production have still not been solved in our republic. The party committees, the Uzbek CP Central Committee Republic Council for Assisting S&T Progress and the ministries and departments of the republic are still relying insufficiently on scientific potential and failing to channel scientists' efforts toward the solution of central problems of an acceleration of socioeconomic development. Perestroika is proceeding passively in the republic headquarters of science also—the Academy of Sciences (Comrade P.K. Khabibullayev). New organizational forms of the joint work of the institutes and enterprises are being introduced extremely slowly, and the creation of intersectoral S&T complexes and temporary scientific and science-production outfits is manifestly being impeded. The Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department (Comrade N.T. Tukhliyev, head) is reconciled to the stagnation in these most important fields.

Comrade M.Kh. Khalmukhamedov, secretary of the Central Committee, is in charge of all these and other questions. It has to be said that he was bequeathed a difficult legacy and that much effort will be required to straighten out the situation. However, insufficient due resolve is as yet being displayed on his part. The solution of personnel questions is being dragged out, and the ideological departments are suffering from the absence of a clearly expressed policy and an insufficiently high level of practical efficiency. Specific problems requiring an unequivocal reaction are frequently drowned in numerous trade-offs.

The struggle to eradicate the consequences of the negative phenomena is making increased demands on the activity of the law enforcement authorities. They are the spearhead of the fight against crime, but the assignments entrusted to them are not being carried out in full.

The day-to-day situation in the republic remains very tense. There has been practically no reduction in the level of encroachments on socialist property, and profiteering and the cheating of customers are widespread.

Nor has order been brought to bear in the law enforcement authorities themselves. Heartlessness and callousness toward people and violations of socialist legality have not disappeared here. Criminal proceedings were unjustifiably instituted against almost 300 citizens, of whom 45 were subsequently acquitted by the court, but in respect of the others proceedings were suspended by the investigating authorities themselves.

The bulk of cases becomes tied down in the courts by red tape, and many of them are repeatedly returned for a repeat examination. Judicial protection of citizens' constitutional rights is exercised inadequately.

The quality of investigation and legality control by the prosecutor's office are not at the proper level. We hope that Comrades D.A. Usatov, U.S. Rakhimov, B.G. Alimdzhanov and S.I. Yigitaliyev, leaders of the administrative authorities, will adopt the most decisive measures to bring strict socialist order to bear in this sphere.

The state of the fight against drunkenness and moonshining is causing the utmost concern. Numerous instances have been brought to light of liquor speculation, the maintenance of drinking dives and drunkenness, and the number of moonshiners, from whom almost 20,000 liters of intoxicating poison have been confiscated, has grown tenfold compared with last year. We will not rid ourselves of this calamity by administrative and restrictive measures and the forces of the militia alone. It is necessary to bring to the fight for people's physical and moral health our entire ideology and the entire community.

As you can see, comrades, whole strata of the most acute problems have formed in the economy, social sphere and spiritual life of the republic. Their solution, as the adduced analysis shows, resides primarily in the style and methods of party leadership and the level of competence and responsibility of the personnel. Today all categories of workers need not blind, unthinking expedition but initiative and responsibility, a readiness, when necessary, to take justified risks in the interests of the cause and intolerance of stagnation, routine and attempts to hide behind outdated departmental instructions in justification of one's own inactivity.

The Central Committee Buro and the party committees and organizations are giving little practical assistance to the people who are sent to strengthen the gorkoms and raykoms, enterprises, organizations and farms and their primary party organizations. Some 146 gorkom and raykom secretaries were replaced last year alone. The replaceability of this category of personnel is particularly high in Navoi, Dzhizak and Kashka-Darya oblasts. A

year ago Central Committee Buro members held individual discussions with executives of party, soviet and management authorities where things were particularly difficult. However, this was not followed up by specific organizing work, on the part of the Central Committee secretaries and departments included, to extricate the lagging sectors from the hole.

Big new opportunities are now opening up in connection with the revision of the organizational structure of management of the economy in the republic for strengthening the city and rayon party and soviet authorities and workforce with personnel. The task of the Central Committee Buro and all party committees is to dispose of the released personnel potential correctly and with advantage.

A new form of work for us—the electivity of executives—is being developed increasingly. More than 20,000 officials were elected last year on a democratic basis. They include leaders of enterprises, organizations, farms, educational institutions and science and culture establishments. Relying on the trust and support of the workforce, many of the elected comrades have embarked decisively on a strengthening of discipline and order, are adopting bold measures to effect a cardinal economic reform and introduce progressive forms of the organization of labor and are making changes for the better.

However, it has to be admitted that the Central Committee Buro is inadequately directing processes of democratization, particularly of personnel work. Many party committees and primary party organizations have shown themselves to be unprepared for work under the conditions of democratization and effectively counteracting attempts to put forward one's own, "convenient" man on account of the same characteristics of kinship and localism of which we are trying to rid ourselves.

In a word, comrades, the restructuring of personnel work needs to be performed in many areas, on a broad democratic basis. The Central Committee Buro's job is to analyze these processes in depth, direct the work of the party committees and organizations, emphatically put a stop to formalism and connivance, develop democratic principles in the promotion of the personnel and ensure open party and public supervision of its activity.

Perestroika is throwing a new light on the role and place of the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms as outposts of the party brought up to the forward boundaries. The Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro has endeavored to analyze critically and influence effectively changes in the style and methods of the activity of the party committees and primary party organizations in accordance with the new demands.

As a result new approaches have come to light in the activity of individual party committees. The Khorezm Obkom (Comrade M.M. Mirkasymov), for example, has embarked energetically on the introduction of order and

the development of subsidiary plots and crafts. The Chirchik Gorkom (Comrade Yu.A. Asepkov) is endeavoring to concentrate its efforts on an increase in the efficiency of the production potential which has been created in the city—all enterprises have been switched to a two- and three-shift operating mode.

The Karakulskiy Raykom Buro (Comrade Sh.K. Gataulin) began perestroika with stimulation of the human factor and specific concern for people. In a year here the introduction of accommodation has increased by a factor of 1.5, and stadiums and summer movie theaters have been built on every kolkhoz. All this has had a positive effect and permitted a significant rectification of economic indicators.

But individual examples cannot satisfy us today. It is the situation as a whole which matters, and it is lagging considerably behind the renewal processes taking place in the country.

Even such a strong body as the Tashkent Oblast party organization has failed to secure the necessary changes in industry, construction and agriculture and development of the oblast's social sphere. It is essential that Comrade T.A. Alimov, member of the Central Committee Buro and first secretary of the obkom, seek out additional measures for the effective mobilization of the oblast's available potential.

Nor are the possibilities of the Tashkent City party organization, which is headed by Comrade B.F. Satin, candidate of the Central Committee Buro, being realized in full. The city's activists note his efficiency, scrupulousness and persistent aspiration to have done with negative phenomena and to establish an atmosphere of exactingness.

However, it is pointed out that in presenting a number of interesting initiatives he frequently sets about their realization himself and loses sight of a great deal. There are instances of substitution for the raykoms, and assistance on the part of the gorkom in the localities is inadequate.

It is particularly disturbing that many party committees not only have not assimilated glasnost and democratism but, having become accustomed over the years of stagnation to an armchair style, are shunning these principal levers of the restructuring of social and political life. Various so-called informal associations have come to be set up unchecked. Amateur organizations are on the one hand good. But it has to be seen that demagogues and troublemakers and antisocial elements penetrate here, taking advantage of our developing democracy for selfish purposes. This is having a negative effect on the moral and political atmosphere in the workforce and sometimes in whole rayons, cities and oblasts.

A tense situation has come about, for example, in the city of Zarafshan in Navoi Oblast. The gorkom and its former first secretary, Kh.R. Gafarov, failed in the past

to adopt decisive and exhaustive measures to satisfy the just demands of a group of workers and punish officials guilty of violation of the citizens' rights and legitimate interests. This set a precedent, which is now being used by antisocial elements to blackmail and undermine the authority of the party, soviet and state bodies. The Navoi Obkom must come to grips with this problem once again and solve it thoroughly. It is necessary to go more boldly into the masses, consult the communists and working people and together seek ways of solving urgent problems.

The primary party organizations, of which there are more than 21,000 in the Uzbek CP, are the center and principal component of the entire perestroika. They constitute the political nucleus of the workforce, and all the drive belts of glasnost, democracy and economic reform converge in them. The fate of all our undertakings and plans depends on the initiative of the primary organizations and their capacity for leading people. There are many party organizations in the republic today which are embarking boldly and decisively on bringing order to bear at the enterprises, on the farms and in organizations, introducing cost accounting and self-support and striving for considerable changes for the better.

This is the *modus operandi*, for example, of the party organization of the "Tekhnolog" Science-Production Association headed by Comrade A.A. Abdurakhmanov, secretary. Each communist annually renders account in the shop party organization or party group, and all engineering-technical personnel are part of creative teams. There has been a sharp decline here in absenteeism, and personnel turnover has been reduced from 17 to 3 percent.

What may be achieved given the firm position and enterprising approach of the party committee is shown by the example of Sherabadskiy Rayon's Sovkhoz imeni Kadyrov. Relying on the active position of members of the party committee, Comrade G.K. Sultanova has been able to create in the primary party organization an atmosphere of high exactingness. The sovkhoz is coping successfully with the plans for the procurement of cotton and other products.

However, we have not yet managed to achieved the necessary pace and mass character in enhancing the role and militancy of the primary party organizations. The Central Committee Buro has been unable to activate the latent potentialities of many party organizations in the struggle against stagnation, indifference and complacency. Many secretaries are, as before, phantoms of leaders, as it were, are working in the old way, putting up with the lax management of remiss administrators and are under their thumb.

Work on enhancing the role of the primary party organizations is directly connected with the elimination of serious shortcomings in admittance to the party and the

strengthening of party ranks mentioned in the well-known CPSU Central Committee decree pertaining to the Tashkent Oblast party organization. This important question has been examined at a Central Committee plenum and in all party organizations. The party committees have renounced the mechanical control and rigid regulation of those being admitted to the ranks of the CPSU. More attention has come to be paid to a strengthening of the party nucleus among workers and kolkhoz members, engineering-technical personnel, teachers, doctors and figures of science. Measures have been adopted to create a base for growth, and party entrant selection processes have been democratized.

Certification of the communists has begun in the Tashkent Oblast party organization, in the Fergana, a review of the militancy of the primary party organizations is being developed. All this will undoubtedly contribute to the enhancement of the vanguard role of the communists and the release of the party organizations from passiveness and absence of guiding principle.

At the same time, by way of playing it safe, certain party committees of Tashkent Oblast have practically suspended party admittance. While in the Bozatauskiy, Chirakchinskiy, Altynsayskiy and Khazaraspkiy rayon organizations the situation is the reverse—accelerated admittance is still being permitted here. Not everything has been done to remove the distortions in the social and national composition of those admitted to the party.

A big share of the blame for the fact that there has not as yet today been a fundamental breakthrough in work with the personnel, in the style and methods of work of the party committees and in the increased militancy of the primary party organizations accrues to the Organizational and Party Work Department and its head, Comrade P.V. Dogonkin, member of the Central Committee Buro. Under his leadership the department is not yet calling the tune in the restructuring of organizational and party work. Staff officials are being slow to have done with formalism and excessive organization and are analyzing new features in the activity of the party authorities and organizations inadequately. If there has been somewhat of a reduction in the amount of paper, there has been an increase in the flow from the Organizational and Party Work Department of telephone calls. This is impermissible. We need to change not the coloring of bureaucratic style but the style itself. Some comrades are confusing this.

The said shortcomings also largely depend on the activity of Comrade V.P. Anishchev, second secretary of the Central Committee. He should in his work be paying more attention to coordination of the activity of the Central Committee departments and concentrating on questions of an organizational and party thrust. It is necessary to more actively prompt republic level executives to perform their duties precisely and reserve fewer questions unto themselves. It is necessary to monitor more closely the activity of the personnel and cultivate

altogether a more precise mechanism of control and expedition. And coordination, of the social organizations particularly, is required in this field also.

Take, for example, the unions. They were preparing for 6 months for the introduction of the State Enterprise Act and did not have enough time. Workforce councils had by the start of the year been formed at only 1,300 enterprises out of 9,000. The unions have not had their say in the creation of safe working conditions, an end to overtime and the strengthening of discipline. In the 2 years the number of industrial accidents and occupational illness have not diminished, and absenteeism and no-shows have grown once again. And against whom has the UzSSR Council of Trade Unions instituted proceedings for this, which executives have been brought to book? None. In the organization of socialist competition the unions' main concern is merely the selection of the leader. In a word, Comrade Kh.A. Alimova, candidate of the Central Committee Buro and chairman of the UzSSR Council of Trade Unions, needs to critically and exactly analyze her work, determine the main directions of activity and restructure it perseveringly and consistently.

The Komsomol also demands greater attention. Some 170,000 Komsomol members are doing no work, and social passiveness and nihilism, drunkenness and drug addiction are not on the decline in the youth environment. Questions of the moral education of the youth must predominate in our activity. Many of the troubles in the recent past occurred because due significance was not attached to this question.

New forms of work with the youth have appeared recently. A Komsomol deputies group has been formed under the auspices of the Supreme Soviet. Lessons in Soviet democracy are being conducted in the localities. Coming of age ID's are presented ceremonially in the presence of distinguished persons following an initiative of the War and Labor Veterans Council. Interesting initiatives in the youth's military-patriotic education have appeared recently. Such forms foster love and respect for Soviet traditions. We need to continue to seek out effective new forms of work with the youth.

The republic's working people are not yet aware of the active work of the Struggle for Sobriety Society, women's councils and a number of other social organizations.

V. Relying on the Masses, Developing Democracy and Collegiality in Work

The development of democratism and glasnost in the work of the party, soviet and management authorities of the republic requires a sensitive, attentive attitude toward the working people's letters and appeals.

In the past 2 years the Central Committee has received more than 50,000 citizens' letters and submissions, and over 20,000 persons have been received by the secretaries in charge of Central Committee departments. This is far more than in preceding years.

On the one hand this testifies to the growth of people's political and social assertiveness. Their civic position is strengthening, and they are unwilling to put up any longer with instances of bureaucratism, abuse of office and violations of the standards of morality and ethics.

On the other, we cannot fail to be disturbed by the fact that the stream of letters concerning violations of citizens' rights and legitimate interests is growing. There has been an increase also in the number of repeat complaints, of which there were last year approximately 3,000.

As an analysis shows, following an appeal to the Central Committee the majority of the questions raised by the citizens is resolved positively or the declarants are given cogent, substantiated answers. But the natural question arises: why has a person been forced to take his problems as far as the Central Committee when the housing committee, rayon social security office, city public health department, rayispolkom and, finally, the raykom could and were duty bound to have solved them.

Nor has there been an end to the persecution of persons who have dared to express their opinion plainly and point out the shortcomings of higher bureaucrats. Thus in a submission received by the Uzbek CP Central Committee in 1987 Comrade M. Karimov, instructor of the Akhunbayevskiy Raykom, reported that First Secretary E. Kholmatov was intolerant of criticism and was in breach of the rules of party life.

The Fergana Obkom (Comrade Kh.U. Umarov) checked out the said facts for about a year, and the majority of them was borne out. However, instead of holding the guilty parties strictly to account, obkom officers began to look for shortcomings in the actions and behavior of the author of the submission, instituted party proceedings against him and dismissed him from his position. And the incorrect actions of the raykom first secretary, which had distorted party policy, were evaluated once again only following the intervention of the Central Committee.

Today any attempt to suppress criticism, and persecution for it even less, cannot be tolerated and must be seen as counteracting the party's policy of the development of glasnost and democratism. And to put the question on a broader plane, we must all foster in ourselves a correct, Bolshevik attitude toward criticism and rid ourselves of an infallibility complex and inordinate ambition and of what V.I. Lenin scornfully called communist conceit. Self-criticism in an evaluation of one's work and a businesslike and, I would say, benevolent attitude toward criticism—there can be no modern executive

without these qualities. All our cadres must live by concern for people and their housing and cultural-every-day conditions. This is the main criterion of the activity of any executive.

Simultaneously it is necessary to exclude the possibility of honest personnel being blackened by way of slander and calumny. Anonymous letters pursuing the aim of slandering people should not be examined, in our view. I believe that the participants in our plenum will support this approach.

Comrades! We understand what tremendous significance for the work of the entire republic party organization is attached to the state of the creative atmosphere in the Buro and also the activity of the Central Committee staff as a whole. How has the Central Committee Buro organized its work under the conditions of perestroika?

I believe that we may say today that the situation in the elective collegial bodies has changed for the better. There is no, as before, pressure of authority of office, no leaderism and no indisputable opinions and evaluations and zones off-limits to criticism. In day-to-day current work at Buro and Secretariat sessions there is an open, direct exchange of opinions and a self-critical analysis of the state of affairs and one's own activity, and arguments often arise, in the course of which a common viewpoint is formulated and specific measures for the solution of this problem or the other are determined.

Seeking to restructure the style and methods of their work, the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat have attempted to limit the number of sessions held and documents adopted. There has been somewhat of a reduction in the flow of papers sent to the party committees and received in the Central Committee. Nonetheless, the number thereof is still inordinately great. It is sufficient to say that in a year the Central Committee received approximately 40,000 various documents and that there was a 40-percent increase in the quantity of information and references requested from the localities.

The Central Committee Buro and Secretariat have not rid themselves of such an inherent shortcoming of the party authorities as the vain bustle of meetings. The numerous, empty meetings in the Central Committee, Council of Ministers, Gosagroprom and other republic authorities have become a brake and impediment in the way of practical work on perestroika. The majority of them have been confined to a rehashing of problems known to the participants and have lacked businesslike, constructive proposals and specific practical measures for their solution. People have been robbed of masses of time to no purpose. It is estimated that last year in Tashkent oblispolkom chairmen alone spent on such measures from 35 to 40 days each.

The institution of empowered representatives, which has been condemned by the party, continued to operate until recently. At the height of agricultural campaigns numerous teams of party and soviet officials, who interfered in the day-to-day activity of the local authorities, fettered their initiative and lowered executives' responsibility for the area entrusted to them, were dispatched to the oblasts, rayons and farms.

This entire circulation of documents, vain bustle of meetings and simulation of turbulent activity, but in fact devotion to the old formal methods, is pushing live work into the background. It is having a particularly negative effect on the organization and supervision of execution, which, as V.I. Lenin taught, is the crux of all party work.

Here is just one typical example. The Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department submitted a proposal concerning the lifting from supervision of the decree on the work of the Ishtykanskiy Raykom pertaining to an increase in the level of mechanization of the raw cotton harvesting. Submitted without having ensured fulfillment and supervision of the realization of the measures outlined in the document. The last harvesting period verified better than the Central Committee officials the actual state of affairs. Of the rayon's 14 farms, 13 failed to cope with the cotton-procurement plan, all kolkhozes failed to meet the quotas for machine harvesting, and the proportion thereof amounted to 43 percent. The rayon fell 20,000 tons of raw cotton short in its supply to the state. Despite the kolkhozes' high degree of provision with labor resources, vocational-technical school trainees and schoolchildren were enlisted in the raw cotton harvesting.

There arises in this connection the fundamental question of the level of training, skills and party maturity of officials of the Central Committee machinery itself, who under the conditions of perestroika are called on to set the pace. There are in the headquarters of the republic party organization many experienced, mature comrades who have graduated from the great school of life and who are exacting and at the same time attentive and benevolent toward people. Many young officials, who have brought with them a fresh ray of light from the local party components and the heart of life, have arrived recently. New features are appearing in the activity of the departments. Thus officials in charge of construction have begun to meet more frequently with the party activists of the sector, and not in the course of formal, overorganized measures, what is more, but by way of work, so to speak. Officials of the Organizational and Party Work Department, the inspector staff particularly, spend almost half their work time directly in the local party organizations.

Nonetheless, it cannot yet be said that the Central Committee machinery is operating as a single, well-oiled mechanism. Central Committee department workers visit the organizations for which they are responsible insufficiently, traveling only on special assignments,

decide only narrow departmental questions, do not penetrate the activity of the party committees and local party components in depth and render them insufficient practical assistance in the restructuring of their style and methods of work. Our officials deliver lectures and talks in the workforce, consult with people and get to the heart of their needs and requirements extremely seldom. In a word, attempts at perestroika are made in the quiet of offices. But this is a revolutionary process, and one cannot participate by sitting in an armchair.

In completing the analysis of the work of the Buro and Secretariat mention should be made plainly of the fact that we have not entirely succeeded in ridding ourselves of formalism. The collegial authorities of the Central Committee have ratified dozens of various plans and comprehensive programs, but precise supervision and responsibility for their fulfillment have not been established.

A certain departmental approach on the part of the Buro members and secretaries in respect of this important problem or the other is still being displayed. At times the subjective opinion prevails where collective analysis and a collective position are needed. This was precisely the case to a large extent at the Central Committee Third Plenum, which examined tasks pertaining to a restructuring of ideological work. It is becoming increasingly apparent today that an in-depth, scientifically substantiated analysis of a most important area of party-political leadership was not made, that the high-flown speechifying lacked constructive content and that the numerous so-called comprehensive programs were a hollow formality.

It has to be reported today that there was recently an impartial discussion in the Central Committee Buro in connection with the preparations for and convening of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Seventh Plenum on cotton growing. To be perfectly candid, there had been no real, scrupulous analysis at the plenum of the state of affairs in the leading sector of the republic's economy.

The scale and novelty of the impending work and the present stage of the qualitative transformation of the republic demand of the Central Committee Buro new efforts, the maximum scrupulousness in evaluations of its own work, efficiency and selflessness.

We need to develop democratism and collegiality in work in every possible way and rely more on the activists at large. A poll of approximately 3,000 party, soviet and management officials and party organization secretaries was conducted in the course of preparation for this plenum. A large group of Central Committee members was enlisted in a direct check on the course of fulfillment of the most important party decisions locally, and the propositions of the report were discussed extensively at activist meetings. We made a careful study of all the

opinions and proposals which were expressed and tried to take them into consideration in the report and decree which are submitted for your examination.

I believe that our plenum will be a moment of particular exactingness and that its participants will in party manner point directly and openly to the shortcomings of both the entire Central Committee Buro and its individual members and ways of strengthening their activity.

Comrades! Exactly 5 months separate us from the 19th All-Union Party Conference. On the threshold of this portentous event it is essential to organize work in all areas and at all levels such that each communist operate in the area entrusted to him professionally and energetically and without fearing to take responsibility on himself. Only by enhancing the efficiency of organizing and ideological work in every possible way and increasing party influence and the efficacy of party leadership will we secure a real acceleration of the republic's socio-economic development and a multiplication of its contribution to the country's national economic complex.

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Obkom Leadership Shortcomings Focus of RSFSR Plenums

Perm Obkom Plenum

18000233 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Dec 87 p 2

[Report by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondents V. Lysenko, V. Mikhaylov and I. Filimonov on a plenum of the Perm CPSU Obkom: "Accounts On Restructuring Are On the Agenda: Countering the Inertia of Running In Place"]

[Excerpts] As you are aware, one year ago the CPSU Central Committee passed a resolution on the work of the Perm Party Obkom. Therein it was noted that the functioning of the obkom and its buro continues to include outmoded methods and approaches, is poorly oriented toward people and real affairs, and shows the effects of an ingrained habit of avoiding difficult issues and being content with mediocre results. The party obkom lacks dynamism, scope and a businesslike approach. Thus, the present account by the obkom buro concerning its leadership in restructuring efforts should naturally also include a thorough analysis of how a program to overcome these serious flaws in its style and methods of party leadership is being implemented.

A report presented by B. V. Konoplev, first secretary of the CPSU obkom, appeared to be multifaceted and to the point, dealing with many issues. The subsequent debate very seriously altered this first impression, refuting it completely, and there was a great deal of concern expressed in the discussion of the complexities and difficulties of restructuring. True, the speaker did self-critically admit that as yet no radical course change has

occurred. For example, industry has achieved its planned goals for expansion of production. Labor productivity has increased. However, one enterprise in two is not meeting its contractual obligations, and during the first 11 months of this year there was a shortfall of over 200 million rubles in the shipment of goods to consumers. As for the agricultural sector, there as well achievements have been exceedingly modest thus far. In terms of production volume and sales of basic food products the oblast has not achieved the level envisioned by the Food Program. Despite substantial subsidies the number of unprofitable farms is not decreasing.

The situation in the social realm remains serious and tense. As before, many high-priority, vitally important issues pertaining to the provision of housing, consumer goods and public services are not being resolved in a satisfactory manner. Suffice it to say that in terms of its volume of services our oblast is close to last place in the Russian Federation.

One purpose of the report to the plenum was to reveal weak points in the process and understand where the mechanism of change is stalled and why. The report contained a great deal of criticism directed at members of the obkom buro and secretariat and other administrators holding key positions in the oblast. Serious shortcomings and failures were listed. It was plainly stated that "B. I. Demin, obkom second secretary, is working too timidly and on too small a scale to solve problems of economic leadership by the party"; that V. A. Koziolov, obkom secretary, "often attempts to smooth over pressing problems"; that V. A. Petrov, a member of the obkom buro and chairman of the oblispolkom, "lacks specificity and depth in his development of long-range issues pertaining to oblast development and lacks consistency and persistence in his efforts to carry out decisions..." Well, in what specific areas are these shortcomings being manifested, and what is preventing their elimination? At this point a practical analysis would be more useful than a simple statement of the facts.

In short, one could sense a certain reticence in the personal criticism, the meaning of which at times became completely lost in the vagueness with which it was formulated. For instance, the report stated that L. G. Pinayev, chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Department, "has quite a lot of experience with party work, and it is necessary that that experience not hinder or oppress, but rather be utilized under conditions of restructuring." How should one take this statement? Is his past experience valuable? Or would it be more helpful to be rid of it?

These and some other flaws are part of a report which nevertheless tends toward customary report models, i.e. is primarily directive and indicative in nature and does not contemplate the very serious and contradictory gamut of problems facing the oblast party organization at all. All this was amply compensated for in speeches by other plenum participants, who spoke in a businesslike, energetic and unconstrained manner, achieving a high

degree of frankness. An uncustomarily large number of participants — 26 in all — addressed the plenum. Despite the diversity of issues broached, concern for fundamental improvement in the work style both of the obkom as a whole and of many buro members personally was typical of the discussion. The speeches differed notably from the report in their uncompromising analysis, the boldness of their new approaches and their constructiveness. It was the debates which provided the impetus which is essential in today's discussion style, in which only a precise picture and precise evaluations are credible, in which the best ways and most realistic possibilities for acceleration of progress in restructuring are sought.

The peremptory style typical of the obkom staff is conflicting to an ever greater degree with the demands of our times, erecting a barrier on the road to democratization. V. A. Surkin, first secretary of the Perm CPSU Gorkom, told of the obkom's unconcealed unwillingness to consider the opinions of lower-ranking party organizations. The obkom reassigns members of the gorkom staff and heads of major enterprises in the oblast center without consulting party raykoms and gorkoms. Sometimes it does not even consider the opinion of labor collectives. For example, the new director of a tobacco factory was confirmed in that position with the consent of the party obkom even after the workers had already nominated their own candidate.

The oblast party headquarters and its administrators are always the focus of people's attention. Every word uttered by them is discussed and evaluated and leaves its mark. Does the obkom always bear that in mind? It would seem not: there are still frequent instances of promises being treated as if their fulfillment were optional, being kept in an inconsistent manner, or being treated in a completely cavalier fashion. In February of this year the party obkom buro handed down a severe party penalty against M. A. Petrunkin, director of the Azot Production Association, for failing to meet his January plan goals. And what happened? Since that time the association's indebtedness to its consumers has increased by a factor of 10 and there has been a shortfall of 90,000 tons in fertilizer shipments to farmers, but the obkom, according to V. A. Agalakov, first secretary of the Berezniki CPSU Gorkom, has given the Azot Association no thought at all. Yet the workers of the association's collective have demanded both exacting party intervention and effective assistance.

One gets the impression that now the oblast's administrators are taking steps merely *pro forma*, solely for the purpose of creating the illusion that something is being done. At the end of last year SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published an article by N. V. Uzdryayev, first secretary of the Bolshesosnovskiy Party Raykom. He talked quite frankly of the needs and problems of his remote rayon. The article was considered by the obkom buro and acknowledged to be correct. Then the buro assigned oblispolkom chairman V. A. Petrov and obkom secretary

G. V. Laptev to look into the situation in detail. They visited the rayon and met with its aktiv but, as N. V. Uzdryayev said at the plenum, at that meeting "no clear-cut policy with regard to the further development of our rayon was set forth, and many social problems remained unresolved." Those problems were shunted to the oblast agroindustrial committee, and the obkom avoided having to answer for its decision.

M. I. Goldyrev, a tractor operator from the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin in Kungurskiy Rayon, aired a legitimate grievance during the plenum. He recalled how last spring obkom first secretary B. V. Konoplev promised at a meeting in Kungur to bring about a decision to the effect that processing enterprises would be fully subordinated to rayon agroindustrial associations. This matter is still unresolved.

One more unpaid bill was presented by E. I. Cherkashin, general director of the Motorostroitel Production Association imeni Ya. M. Sverdlov:

"At a meeting with our party aktiv in 1986, Boris Vsevolodovich, you flatly stated that from that time forward all relations with farms near urban areas in patronage arrangements would be solely on a contractual basis. Encouraged by that statement, we drew up contracts, but unfortunately as a result of someone's behind-the-scenes urging not one of them was signed, and in 1987 everything went on as before."

Special attention in the discussion was devoted to the subject of mutual relations between the party committee's full-time staff and the elected organs of a raykom, gorkom or obkom. N. V. Konstantinova, a brigade leader at the Pashiyskiy Metal and Cement Plant, told with a note of alarm of what those relations have become. She flatly stated that she was not satisfied with her work as a member of the party obkom. The apparatus very seldom gives any thought to the members of the obkom, usually only when it needs a speaker in debate; they do not participate in the preparation of matters by the buro and are not assigned to check up on the implementation of decisions.

"I cannot recall a single case in which any apparatus staff member consulted with me on any issue," remarked N. V. Konstantinovna, "but if we would expand the role and increase the activism of obkom members this would help solve the problems we are talking about right now. In this connection I support those who propose that the upcoming All-Union Party Conference recognize the status of a member of the party committee and clearly define a member's duties and rights."

The present distortion of these mutual relations leads to a situation in which even at the plenum some people were unable to abandon their ingrained habits of giving orders instead of giving an accounting of themselves. This was most evident in speeches given by G. V. Laptev, secretary of the party obkom, and V. A. Petrov,

member of the obkom buro and chairman of the oblistpolkom. Apt critical comments were directed at them, demanding the same sort of direct, clear-cut accounting. But once they took the floor they started rebuking and lecturing other people. For fairness' sake we should note that this did not escape the attention of the obkom buro. During the plenum intermission a sort of "impromptu" meeting was held, at which G. V. Laptev had to listen to some frank words on the subject.

As B. V. Konoplev later acknowledged to us, the critical mood at the plenum was running high. In the aggressive, uncompromising speeches made by obkom members one could sense a thirst for renewal and a conviction of the necessity of radical, decisive restructuring, yet at the same time also the certainty that the ideas and concepts of restructuring would win out over conservatism, inertia, unforgivable sluggishness and resistance to change. As was repeatedly stressed at the plenum, the Perm Oblast Party Committee really does possess a great creative potential, and it should put that potential to work more quickly, making every party organization, individual communist and labor collective a part of the transforming work.

Tyumen Obkom Plenum

*18000233 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 29 Dec 87 p 2*

[Report by I. Ognev and Yu. Shabanov, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondents, on a plenum of the Tyumen CPSU Obkom: "Accounts On Restructuring Are On the Agenda: The Dictatorship of the Apparatus"]

[Excerpts] Here at the end of the year the fruits of the changes which restructuring has brought to the Tyumen area are clearly visible. Confirmation of this was provided by frank discussion at the party obkom plenum, the agenda of which included accounting by the buro concerning its leadership in restructuring. Perhaps for the first time in many years a spirit of criticism openly prevailed at the plenum and a thorough analysis was done of the work of the elected party organ. Its work was correctly linked to the oblast's economic development. And in that development, as noted in the report presented by G. Bogomyakov, Tyumen Obkom first secretary, substantial changes have occurred. Oil field workers have finally gotten out of their slump, although they have not yet paid their debts in full, and gas field workers are working at an accelerated pace. The changes have also had an effect on social programs. However, considerably less attention has been devoted to that area.

It is obvious that even a single brick cannot be laid in a wall without producing some effect. Social benefits are out of reach without a strong economy. But that is the area which is in greatest need of organizational work rather than excessive expansion of dispatching/distributive functions, which, as G. Oleynik, chief of the obkom's Industrial Transport Department, and his colleagues acknowledged, is still typical of the operating

style of the party committee. Some people even evaluated the contribution of the obkom secretaries in direct relation to the success or failures of the sectors under their jurisdiction. It is simpler and more convenient to act in that fashion rather than adopting modern economic thinking, inculcating a sense of proprietorship and organizing clear-cut execution of social programs. Yet these things should be the oblast party staff's main concern as an organ of political leadership, the speakers noted.

In this connection a reproach was leveled at Yu. Klat, buro member and obkom secretary. It was recommended that Yuriy Romanovich spend less time worrying about technology and trivial matters and work harder and more purposefully to establish new economic relationships in rural areas.

The longer the plenum lasted, the more obvious it became that those attending were hungry for a new course in the operations of the obkom. R. Babkina, director of the oblast scientific library, talked about how seldom people are discussed at the highest forums of the oblast. More is said about tons, kilometers and millions of rubles.

Shortly before the plenum 572 questionnaires were distributed to the secretaries of the party committee and activists, who were asked to evaluate the work of each member of the obkom buro and apparatus. The result was that people ranked an individual's attitude toward criticism as the most important criterion. And not just toward criticism "with eyes in the back of its head," criticism of yesterday's mistakes, but rather toward the kind that makes one blush for today's mistakes. In the apt phrasing of one participant it is easy to repent for past sins and declare: "But I got restructured yesterday at 1:30..." and then go on living like before. Above all restructuring means changes in one's way of thinking, the ability to take lessons, strictness in evaluation of oneself and other people, and ethical behavior.

Difficult? Of course. The past still dominates us. This thought was precisely expressed at the plenum by V. Grayfer, chief of the Tyumen Oil and Gas Main Administration: "Unfortunately we were raised on the stereotype of positive appraisal of any of our decisions. Now we find ourselves acknowledging 'insignificant flaws' through clenched teeth."

There is no alternative — these stereotypes must be broken down. This was stated with complete honesty by V. Churilov, first secretary of the Khanty-Mansiysk Party Okrug Committee and member of the obkom buro: "Each small victory over oneself is achieved with difficulty, but today many buro members sense the need for personal restructuring. This process is important most of all in order to make the transition from artificial unanimity to genuine party democracy."

Indeed, one will not get very far by carefully doling out restructuring, and more socialism will not result. We need a positive kind of obsession like we need air; what we do not need is excessive bureaucratic caution. For example, the report dealt with the problems of cadre policy in a very superficial manner. Yet there are quite a few flaws in that policy. Over the past two years approximately 2,000 persons have had their party membership cards taken away, and quite a few administrators have been removed. Unfortunately, the person presenting the report did not decide to analyze those facts. This piecemeal approach thoroughly duped some plenum participants. A. Kasparov, the head of the Zapsibdorstroy Association, heatedly warned that: "Busying ourselves with criticism we will only demagnetize collectives..."

Kasparov even likened glasnost to metal chains with which party workers are flailing themselves today.

Without casting aside dilapidated methods it is difficult if not completely impossible to draw up a program of constructive action. As Churilov himself noted, the most important thing was missing in the report: it did not submit for collective discussion the question of how to overcome stagnation and what innovations to utilize.

True, even half-hearted criticism provoked a wave of frankness from people who had grown unaccustomed to any criticism at all. This fact was noted by both V. Shusharin, a driver for the Tyumen Motor Transport Enterprise and a member of the oblast party organization's auditing commission, and A. Sergeyev, a candidate member of the obkom and brigade foreman at the Un-Yuganskiy Timber Farm, when they shared their impressions of the plenum with us: "We have never before heard criticism of the obkom first secretary and the members of the obkom buro."

Never before. Now we are making up for the shortage of criticism. And to the credit of the speakers, it was not just petty settling of scores or a desire to wound opponents.

"We know Gennadiy Pavlovich Bogomyakov to be a demanding and principled individual," said G. Botov, first secretary of the Berdyuzhskiy Party Raykom, "but we would like him to show greater warmth and goodwill. Many of us party workers are not bold enough to have a heart-to-heart talk with him, yet sometimes that is so essential..."

And G. Goloshchapova, finishing work brigade leader at the Nizhnevartovskstroy Association, urged second secretary I. Arkhipov to give up his peremptory tone.

An authoritarian leadership style often conceals incompetence and efforts to avoid in-depth analysis and responsibility. People frankly state that nothing gets done without an order from the obkom. V. Panasevich, finishing work brigade leader at the Zapsibenergostroy Trust, had tried unsuccessfully to acquire the paints and

wallpaper needed to do a job. But G. Bogomyakov needed only to mention that fact at a plenum, and soon the suppliers had delivered everything necessary to Surgut.

This style ends up becoming a dictatorship of the apparatus over the elected organ. Panasevich herself is a member of the obkom, but who listens to her as long as she is the only one speaking on her behalf? People have learned that one must go running to the obkom over every little thing, trying to get some calls made.

Or another bitter admission. In the obkom buro there are two blue-collar workers: M. Buyanov, brigade leader of an integrated brigade at the Glavsibkomplekhtmontazh Trust and T. Kuzmina, until recently a dairy worker and now a bookkeeper at the Uspenskiy Sovkhoz. During the break we asked them whether they ever gave any assignments to the members of the obkom apparatus. Their reply was outright astonishment: how could they do that?

They can! And they should! In this connection many speakers spoke of the need to increase the authority of the members of elected organs.

It appears that plenum participants were justified in their criticism of obkom buro and apparatus members for the lack of glasnost in their work and their inability to or fear of consulting with rank-and-file communists. Even obkom members more often than not can only guess at what is taking place inside the four walls of the obkom. One typical detail: hundreds of those responding to the questionnaire were unable to evaluate the work of buro members. The reason was that they simply were not acquainted with the members of the buro. Even communists with a long record of service, like N. Tishin, chairman of the Yamalo-Nenetsk Okrug Ispolkom, who has served in the obkom for 15 years.

Judging by the obkom first secretary's speech to the previous plenum, it would appear that he had a laudable intention: to expand the boundaries of glasnost. Reporting on the upcoming account by the buro concerning its leadership in restructuring, he stated: "We feel it essential that all members of the obkom be sent a copy of the basic points of the report ahead of time..." Unfortunately the members of the obkom only got a look at the report 24 hours prior to the plenum. If they had gotten it earlier their discussion of the style of party work would have been more to the point.

But restructuring will only enter the party house in the company of glasnost. There is no other alternative. No wonder the obkom's first attempt to speak frankly with communists, despite certain errors, was greeted with hope and approval by the plenum participants.

Also attending the plenum was A. Melnikov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Construction Department.

Buryat Obkom Plenum

18000233 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
19 Jan 88 p 2

[Report by A. Gamov, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent, on a plenum of the Buryat CPSU Obkom: "Exactingness Has Been Demonstrated, Now It Is Time For a Businesslike Approach: At the Plenum of the Buryat Party Obkom"]

[Excerpts] Judging by the content of the obkom buro's account of its leadership in restructuring efforts, which account was presented by A. Belyakov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom, plenum participants' anxiety and expectations were fully justified. On the one hand, the autonomous republic appears to have done a good job during the first two years of this five-year plan. There has been a substantial increase in sales to the state of meat, milk and eggs. The two-year plan for shipment of bread to the state has been fulfilled. There has been a noticeable increase in the rate of housing construction. A total of 83 enterprises, accounting for 55 percent of all production in our republic, are operating quite efficiently under conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing. But, on the other hand, quite a few serious problems have accumulated, particularly with regard to development of the fuel and energy base, in the field of capital construction and with respect to resolution of social development issues. Substantial lags have arisen in the construction of key projects of the current five-year plan: the Gusinozerskiy State Regional Electric Power Station, the Heat and Electric Power Station #2, and the Tugnuyskiy Coalfield. The agroindustrial complex is operating below capacity, as a result of which the ASSR's population is experiencing breakdowns in the supply of food products. Plans for the construction of schools, preschool facilities, nurseries and hospitals are being fulfilled by only 50-60 percent. The problem of providing modern housing for the residents of cities and villages is acute...

"In our evaluation of these failings we could find a great number of 'objective' causes," said A. Belyakov prior to the plenum. "But that is yesterday's method. That is why in preparing for this account we decided to weigh all the pluses and minuses in the economic and social development of our ASSR against the work of our buro in the administration of restructuring. What is hampering that work? In what areas are we not doing enough? We have gone to labor collectives and primary party organizations to seek their counsel."

The party obkom twice postponed the plenum, saying that it needed more time for preparatory work. Meetings of buro members with rank-and-file communists, non-party members and secretaries of party committees went on for over three months. The theses of the account were distributed ahead of time to the rayons and discussed at the local level. And just prior to the plenum the buro

held an in-depth discussion on ways to improve the work of that collective organ. For the first time there was frank and detailed discussion of the work style and methods of each buro member.

"No one escaped critical analysis," said A. Belyakov. "I as first secretary was told that I do not make equal demands on all administrators, and that in general I should be more demanding. It was pointed out that when certain decisions are made I sometimes usurp the authority of administrators in our autonomous republic Council of Ministers and other organizations. I feel that this exacting approach has allowed us to exclude vague formulations, overly cautious evaluations and 'diplomatic' phraseology from the account. Most importantly, we have been able to sense weak points in our work which we previously did not even suspect. And now it will be up to the plenum to decide how successful we have been..."

What is now preventing the oblast party organization from keeping in step with the times? One conclusion: facile and often distorted conceptions of the nature of party work, irresponsibility, a tendency toward ostentation and hyperorganization, formalism and excessive bureaucracy. Then add in the years of accumulated stereotypes in the operations of the obkom buro and party committees. Now we have outlined ways to eradicate administrative methods, lack of initiative, failure to keep promises and empty rhetoric. Planning methods are improving. The number of matters considered by the obkom buro has been cut by one-third, and the remainder are being dealt with in greater depth. Contacts with individuals have grown stronger. A new form has come into being: "obkom days" during which various rayons in our republic study the experience of party work and meetings are held with labor collectives and at people's places of residence.

In the final analysis all this will help the party obkom buro focus its attention on finding solutions to the principal, key tasks of restructuring. One of those tasks is to overcome lags in our autonomous republic's economic and social development. For the problems which have accumulated in those areas are among the main reasons for high cadre turnover, social dissatisfaction among the public and a low level of labor-related and political activism among a certain segment of working people.

Over the past two years the oblast party organization has replaced one-third of primary party organization secretaries and approximately one-half of all party raykom secretaries in its search for the foremen of restructuring, and there has been a turnover of almost one-fourth among heads of ispolkoms and rayon soviets. The heads of a number of ministries and departments have been replaced. Yet, as V. Bazarov, first secretary of the Barguzinskiy CPSU Raykom, A. Nechayev, first secretary of the Kyakhtinskiy CPSU Raykom, S. Buldayev, chairman of the Buryat ASSR Council of Ministers, S.

Ayusheyev, first secretary of the Okinskiy CPSU Raykom, and other speakers at the plenum noted in their speeches, these measures attest not so much to high standards for cadres as they do to a lack of adherence to principles in cadre selection and training. A. Molitvin, a member of the obkom buro and head of the Organizational Party Work Department, has basically allowed this matter to take its own course. Neither the CPSU obkom nor local party committees have put work with the promotion reserve on a proper footing.

In the past two years 58 administrators on various levels have been expelled from party ranks on account of crimes committed for the purpose of personal gain. There have been quite a few instances of compromised administrators being spared discussion by primary party organizations and of individuals who have received criminal convictions being allowed to remain in the party. The opinion of plenum participants on this points was unanimous: with "baggage" like that it is unlikely that the oblast party organization will be able to travel the road of restructuring successfully. It should be gotten rid of as soon as possible.

Plenum participants received a summary of workers' letters received by the CPSU obkom over the past year. No one is particularly worried by the fact that the number of such letters continues to grow, because that means that people's activism is also on the increase. But the fact that in the past year the obkom's mail has contained 13 percent more "local" letters received from central organs is an alarming symptom. Is this not evidence that there is a lack of confidence in effective assistance from the oblast party headquarters among the working people of the autonomous republic? Incidentally, several rank-and-file plenum participants expressed the same concern in their speeches.

Thus, the CPSU obkom buro's account was given keen, uncompromising evaluations. What is the first secretary's attitude toward them?

"We intended to urge people to be frank here today, and in my opinion we succeeded in doing so," said A. Belyakov following the plenum. "However, there could have been more criticism. Particularly with regard to the buro's work style and methods. To a certain extent they still let us off easy... Now, of course, we have many things to ponder: where we go from here in our work, and how we should live in order to be worthy of the great trust placed in us by the oblast party organization."

Sverdlovsk Obkom Plenum

18000233 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
21 Jan 88 p 2

[Report by V. Dolmatov and D. Usachev on a plenum of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom: "At the Plenum of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom: It Is Hard To Make a Break With Outdated Stereotypes"]

[Excerpts] Never before has the oblast party organization made such thorough and ambitious preparations for a plenum as it did for this one. Here is just a partial list of

the measures taken: approximately 20 meetings with workers and the aktiv; a pre-plenum inspection by obkom members of the work of departments, reminding the apparatus that it is subordinate to the elected organ, and not the other way around; a sociological survey of over 3,000 workers and communists, plus analysis of over 300 comments and suggestions received from party gorkoms and raykoms...

Real-life affairs urgently point up the need for a course change in the direction of comprehensive study of issues and demand that we renounce an office-bound leadership style, spend more time in local areas, and be familiar with the situation through personal observation rather than through reports. Many people remember the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on an article which appeared in PRAVDA entitled "How Much Should One Take Upon Oneself?"; that article told of a conflict at the Irbit Chemical and Pharmaceutical Plant and the inability of the members of the Irbit CPSU Gorkom to provide leadership in restructuring. The party obkom has shown a lack of discipline in its execution of that resolution, and the Central Committee has found it necessary to consider the matter once again. "The 'Irbit incident' is the most serious failing in the work of the obkom buro over the past two years," said Yu. V. Petrov, first secretary of the CPSU obkom, in his report to the plenum.

Unfortunately lately, and this is typical not only of Irbit, party and soviet organs have somehow grown accustomed to the low temperatures in homes and the lack of water in upper stories, to breakdowns in the functioning of transportation, to clouds of smoke hanging over cities... And despite the fact that these phenomena are detrimental to life and spoil the mood and health of hundreds and thousands of people, the guilty parties are not being made to bear the responsibility.

The party obkom has drawn the proper conclusions from the "Irbit incident." Firstly it was necessary to see the phenomenon behind the event and rise to the level of generalizations. Secondly, what was needed was great political acumen in reactions to the shortcomings and higher standards for those who were responsible for them. And, finally, also needed was substantial improvement in assistance to party gorkoms and raykoms. Progress has been made. Members of the CPSU obkom buro are currently employing the practice of meetings at the local level on issues pertaining to individuals. Plenum participants also approvingly noted another innovation: multi-purpose brigades. While working in a certain city or rayon for a week or a week-and-a-half, the members of a brigade — party and soviet staff members — study the situation, render the necessary assistance and inform the aktiv of that city or rayon party organization of their comments and recommendations. This form of monitoring and assistance has begun to be practiced by soviet organs and law enforcement organs...

At the plenum the main topic of discussion was buro members' work style. The speech given by V. M. Man'yukhin, obkom second secretary, was self-critical: "Direct administering of enterprises prevails in departments' work style. Efforts to take everything upon oneself personally precludes reliance on local party organizations. This is also descriptive of my style. Just as often as anyone else I tend to make a decision myself, directly, particularly on matters pertaining to ministries and departments. You work with various offices, you make promises, and you think that that will help your comrades, but no progress is evident. That's when a person begins to fall into self-deception."

Ours is probably not the first generation of party workers to discuss distortion of the nature of party leadership. Participants in this plenum of the Sverdlovsk Obkom deemed it necessary to continue discussion of this problem at the upcoming All-Union Party Conference. Essentially, in the very structure of party organizations founded on the departmental principle a confusion of functions is built in, and the obkom's sector departments draw low-level party organizations into the circulatory system of economic problems and concerns whether they want to be part of that system or not. But it should be noted that for some secretaries that work style is completely customary and convenient.

Under conditions of restructuring many flaws in the style and methods of party leadership in the economy have become clearer and more prominent. And there were grounds for plenum participants not to boast very loudly about the gain in growth rates for production volume and labor productivity in our oblast. Indeed, are there any grounds for boasting when over 40 percent of all enterprises are not meeting their plans for contract shipments and over one-third have allowed production overhead to rise in spite of a large number of new organizational measures, when the situation in the machine building sector has worsened? The construction sector has also not gotten out of its slump yet.

The situation in agriculture is particularly alarming: last year almost one-half of all kolkhozes and sovkhoses did not meet the goals of their reduced plans for the sale of potatoes and other vegetables, 20 rayons produced even less milk than in the previous year, and the number of farms lagging behind rose. Since the creation of an Agricultural Committee and RAPOs the number of papers, directives and instructions issued has increased. Where do the keynote speaker and the other speakers feel that the hindrance to restructuring of the agroindustrial complex lies? Primarily in the continued existence of directive-command methods of leadership and an authoritarian management style.

The obkom secretariat and buro lack a businesslike approach and organization, and this was also discussed at the plenum. Specifically, A. A. Sokolov, chairman of the oblast people's control committee, analyzed the reasons why the flow of resolutions adopted by the

obkom buro has virtually not decreased at all, and what is feeding this "paper addiction." The reason for the habit of adopting a new resolution on every issue, in the speaker's opinion, lies in the desire to shield the public image of the party organ from tough practical work that often borders on conflict. Documents are often drawn up without in-depth preparatory work. For example, in July a resolution was adopted which provided for the construction of 360 additional fodder shops and fodder production lines, to be ready for use by 1 October. Yet only 10 were completed by December.

Or another typical example of old baggage, as noted in replies to the questionnaire: the adoption of resolutions of the "belated/intimidating" type, wherein it is proposed that measures be taken within one week to complete some unfinished project or wind up the harvest. This practice is fraught with loss of public respect for the buro.

As the plenum demonstrated, the most difficult problem is that of cadres. Speakers told of how difficult it is for obkom departments to overcome bad traditions and select administrators on the basis of their personal qualities rather than their answers to questionnaires. The Nizhniy Tagil Party Gorkom insisted that the Tagilstroy Trust be headed by A. P. Varlamov, but the obkom refused to consent, because that candidate did not have the proper educational background; his degree was in education. Today Tagilstroy is still suffering from cadre errors, and Varlamov has become the head of a trust, but in Perm instead of in Nizhniy Tagil, and there he has proven to be a capable administrator.

Another inappropriate principle which still persists is that of "awarding" an economic administrator a penalty for any reason at all, with this act of punishment often being transformed into a shield, obviating the need to take constructive measures. Figures were cited at the plenum: of a total of 316 heads of sovkhozes and kolkhozes 79 were given party penalties and 165 were penalized by people's control committees over a two-year period, and if we include the reprimands, withholdings and fines invoked by the oblast agroindustrial committee, the fire department and other inspecting organs, then it turns out that chairmen and directors are simply pasted over with penalties!

The first secretary himself stated that there have been shortcomings in the implementation of cadre policy and acknowledged that he was personally to blame for that. But in our opinion the report did not include the most important thing of all: it did not submit for collective discussion the question of how to solve cadre problems so that they will not become a serious hindrance to restructuring or how to combine the efforts of party committees and labor collectives more successfully in these matters, since labor collectives have now been granted very broad rights by the Law On State Enterprises. True, this omission was to some extent compensated for by subsequent speakers.

"Overall the discussion heard at the plenum was satisfactory, although not everyone was on the same wavelength of a frank exchange of opinions," said Yu. V. Petrov following the plenum.

In the succinct formulation of one speaker, for plenum participants the most important thing was to analyze the reasons and motivations for resistance to change and then on the basis of that analysis choose paths to progress, defining for oneself what should be taken along into the second stage of restructuring and what should be thrown overboard.

Proposals for the 19th All-Union Party Conference

V. Kadochnikov, first secretary of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Gorkom: hold plenums of gorkoms and raykoms once every six months instead of once each quarter.

L. Korsukova, a worker from the Uralobuv Production Association: permit the secretaries of small party organizations to work only part-time on their regular jobs.

A. Gutorov, second secretary of the Nizhniy Tagil CPSU Gorkom: 1. Clearly define the role of party committees in the process of selecting and assigning cadres as the Law On State Enterprises is introduced into practice and the practice of electing economic administrators is expanded.

2. End strict regulation of the holding of plenums by gorkoms and raykoms, and grant them greater independence in setting their own agendas.

A. Makhov, first secretary of the Ivdel Gorkom: make a regular practice of having the buro submit accounts of its work between conferences.

Vladimir Obkom Plenum

18000233 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
30 Jan 88 p 2

[Report by L. Gladysheva and Yu. Shabanov, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent, on a plenum of the Vladimir CPSU Obkom: "Migration of the Command Style: A Talk With Members of the Vladimir CPSU Obkom Buro On the Results of the Plenum"]

[Excerpts] Restructuring poses questions. Thousands of questions. And the answers to them will not fit in the decades-encrusted cubbyhole that sounds something like this: "Do as you are ordered!" Too many problems requiring careful study and innovative solutions have accumulated. The frank and impartial discussion which took place at the Vladimir Party Obkom plenum provided an opportunity not only to analyze the rate of social and economic development, but also to determine which forms and methods the oblast party headquarters should use to influence that rate. We asked members of the obkom buro to share their opinions on this subject with us.

R. Bobovikov, first secretary of the party obkom: "I feel that one of the most important issues raised at the plenum and in the mail we receive is that of usurpation of authority and the command/pressuring style."

"I remember the words of V. Selivanov, first secretary of the Suzdal Party Raykom. 'What is working?' he would ask. During the period of fodder procurement the obkom assumes the functions of the oblast agroindustrial committee. Frequently schedules are determined at the top: when to sow, by what date to harvest. And these days that is not even the RAPO's job, but that of individual farm administrators instead. That kind of style was pointed out to us by A. Ryabinkin, a locomotive engineer from Vladimir, V. Trukhina, a mason from the Pokrovagropromstroy Trust, and other speakers. People resoundingly asked: how far will we get by just giving orders? This is our fault, and our problem. It is high time to cure the heartburn left by the period of stagnation, but obviously we do not seem to be succeeding at all. This plenum tried to learn why that is so, so that we will not repeat our mistakes."

G. Kondryukov, oblispolkom chairman: "Party and soviet organs are passing fewer joint resolutions now. Last year there were none at all at the obkom/oblispolkom level. Maybe we are sharing responsibility or, more likely, raising the level of responsibility. We can no longer hide behind anyone else. But there is one thing to which I would like to direct attention. There are some cases in which usurpation of authority has the center's blessing. Take for instance migration of the rural population. One cause of it: departments do not always make well-balanced decisions with regard to the distribution of new enterprises in the oblast. For example, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry is guilty of doing this. The decision of whether to build or not to build falls under the jurisdiction of the oblispolkom's interdepartmental commission. However, someone at the ministry bypassed it and called obkom secretary Yeliseyev, put the pressure on him and got the go-ahead. The oblispolkom was presented with a *fait accompli*. We would not have given permission. It would be better to organize the functioning of existing enterprises properly, those enterprises which are chronic laggards. Yet in spite of repeated invitations the minister has not been induced to come here..."

R. Bobovikov: "Criticism was levelled at me personally. I listened to it attentively. V. Bedov, first secretary of the Vladimir Party Gorkom, put it this way: 'Many of the obkom first secretary's ideas and many decisions made at his initiative are not being implemented. I think that this is not just a problem of undisciplined comrades. Ratmir Stepanovich is not devoting enough attention to the development of decisions once they are made or to analysis of the reasons which are keeping plans from being carried through...' I will definitely take note of that. Sometimes I do not find effective means of performing tasks myself, so then I start putting the screws on other people..."

S. Igolkin, obkom second secretary: "Often we just heap one resolution on top of another. Both because there has not been adequate monitoring of execution of the previous resolution, and because our resolutions are full of generalities — 'intensify,' 'raise the level of,' 'improve' and so on. I think we need to change the style with which we prepare resolutions and decisions. Plans mature in obkom departments, then are shown to the secretary under whose jurisdiction the fall and submitted to the buro or to plenums. Therefore the speakers' suggestion that obkom and buro members and competent specialists be brought into the process at an earlier stage was on target."

"At the plenum it was noted that in April 1985 the oblispolkom made a decision concerning the rendering of assistance to three rayons in their social and economic development. In March 1986 an analogous joint resolution was passed by the obkom and oblispolkom. Yet there have been virtually no practical results. And how could there be when, for instance, housing construction is not supported by adequate capacities on the part of contract organizations? If a resolution were well planned the results from it would be different."

R. Bobovikov: "The plenum strongly stressed the issue of violations of Leninist standards of behavior. In the report I cited the following figures: over the past two years 1,500 persons have been expelled from the party, and more than one-half of those expulsions resulted from moral decadence at home, drinking or criminal acts. And I did not merely cite the facts, I also talked about poor educational work by party committees, including the obkom and its buro, and about the need for stricter penalties for violators and improvement of party control. I proposed that V. Paklin, candidate member of the buro and chairman of the obkom's Party Control Commission, name names toward that end."

V. Paklin: "And I have named names. Take for instance those individuals who received party penalties for using their official positions for purposes of personal gain. Among them were Belov, the former chairman of the Leninskiy Rayispolkom in Vladimir, Sorokin, the director of the Factory imeni K. Marx, Polkin, the head technician at the Large Prefabricated Housing Plant, and others. I also talked about party workers who have besmirched the honor of their positions."

R. Bobovikov: "And to that I would like to add something, since we are on the subject of glasnost and rumor control. Soon the party obkom will move to a new building, which incidentally was build with funds specially allocated for that purpose. And the old building will be turned over to the oblast health department."

"In its resolution on glasnost the Central Committee criticized us for our poor selection of cadres and secrecy in the selection process. We are attempting to eliminate

past errors. We are preparing an administrative reserve whose members will take the opinions of party organizations and labor collectives into account."

R. Bobovikov: "The discussion which took place at the plenum will be the subject of thorough consideration. Some personal problems are already being resolved. Phenomena are being analyzed. We are grateful to the people of Vladimir Oblast for their active participation in the work of the plenum and for the corrections in the obkom buro's style of restructuring leadership which they proposed in their letters. The people's counsel will be put to use. We will continue to consult with them on all the problems with which life faces us."

Proposals for the 19th All-Union Party Conference

K. Bychinskiy, secretary of the party committee of the Murom Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze: Amend Paragraph 12 of the CPSU Charter, i.e. consider the matter of party membership subsequent to criminal conviction.

I. Kovalchuk, first secretary of the Kovrovskiy CPSU Gorkom: Reevaluate current practices and standardizing documents which determine the frequency of buro meetings, plenums and assemblies and then reduce the number of such events.

V. Paklin, chairman of the obkom Party Control Commission: There is a need to draw up a new statute on party control commissions, one which would clearly define their purposes, rights and obligations.

Chechen-Ingush Obkom Plenum

18000233 SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
5 Feb 88 p 2

[Report by M. Mikhalkov, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent, on a plenum of the Chechen-Ingush CPSU Obkom: "Accounts On Restructuring Are On the Agenda: The Roots of Laxity Are Still Strong"]

[Excerpts] Protectionism, nepotism and the granting of favors to friends in the selection of administrative cadres, it was noted at the plenum of the Chechen-Ingush CPSU Obkom, have not been eliminated and continued to hamper restructuring.

What was the main topic of the discussion and critical analysis? The following admission by V. Foteyev, obkom first secretary, who presented the report: "Evaluating its work from the standpoint of present-day requirements, the CPSU obkom buro is of the opinion that positive changes have scarcely been noticeable, and that serious improvement in work to direct the operations of party, soviet and trade union organs and to render assistance to and increase the level of responsibility of economic administrators has not yet occurred." And the underlying cause of this situation: mistakes by the CPSU obkom buro in the conducting of its cadre policy.

Consider the agricultural sector of the economy by way of example. Large quantities of meat, milk and eggs are imported into this republic from other regions of the country in the form of subsidies. That is the result of a low level of agricultural science and disarray in the area of cattle raising. And those things are in turn the result of the cadre reshuffling typical of our republic State Agroindustrial Committee and of irresponsibility on the part of economic officials. During a five-year period the turnover rate for kolkhoz chairmen in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR was 122 percent. The situation with regard to sovkhoz directors is no better.

"Up until now these cadres," said Kh. Bokov, chairman of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, "have been the monopoly of certain buro members, and the rest have only had the right to vote to confirm the 'reappointees'."

Which of the "monopolists" did the speaker have in mind? D. Zavgayev, obkom second secretary, and A. Voronkin, chairman of the republic State Agroindustrial Committee. What he said agreed with the opinion of other communists. Everyone knows that protectionism, nepotism, clan and family ties and the granting of favors to friends have longed formed the basis upon which administrative positions are distributed. It is no secret that there are many families in which every single member holds a supervisory position.

It is common knowledge that errors and miscalculations in cadre policy are mainly connected with and caused by the work done in that area by party committees. That means that the blame for the failure of an incapable administrator or soviet staff member should fall squarely on the party organ in general and on the person who made the recommendation, the person at whose initiative the candidate was nominated, specifically. Yet what actually happens? As a rule no one is penalized for nominating unsuitable candidates. This gives people a carte blanche, and it is with good reason that there is a saying in this republic that there exists an unpublished "price list" for positions: so much to become a minister, so much to become a restaurant director, kolkhoz chairman or sovkhoz director, and so on.

In view of this situation the following question was posed at the plenum: according to what principle are party raykom and gorkom secretaries selected? Who consults with whom prior to their nomination? Should not a system involving election from among two or three candidates with broad glasnost about the moral values and business qualities of each candidate be formally established?

The following examples were cited at the plenum. For many years V. Melnichenko, general director of the Groznefteorgsintez Production Association, was the subject of sharp criticism for failing to meet state plans and for producing low-quality goods. But the criticism had

no effect on him. Former obkom secretary V. Dmitriyenko and gorkom first secretary V. Kutsenko stubbornly attempted to protect the prestige of this incompetent official. At the last oblast party conference V. Melnichenko was elected obkom member, and then later deputy of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR Supreme Soviet. And only after the general director's immoral behavior exceeded all bounds was he relieved of his administrative post. But did his protectors accept any of the responsibility? No reply. And not just in this instance.

A. Sharshavykh, chief of the obkom's Organizational Party Work Department, asked the following question during a meeting with party member railroad workers in Gudermes: how should we interpret the actions of the republic leadership toward A. Volkov, former first secretary of the Gudermes Party Raykom? Communists had expressed their lack of confidence in him, yet the local newspaper reported that the secretary had been "relieved of his position for reasons of health." Incidentally, he swiftly recovered from his "illness" and accepted the post of deputy chairman of the republic State Agroindustrial Committee.

This brought up another problem: the formation of the cadre reserve. On the surface everything seems to be going well in that respect. The obkom nomenklatura alone includes over 2,500 names. But when it comes to making a practical choice it turns out that the selection is small.

A total of 25 persons participated in debate, and almost every one of them had something to say about the work of the Chechen-Ingush ASSR Council of Ministers. M. Kerimov, its chairman, was something of a "star" that day. For example, the report stated that M. Kerimov liked to hold numerous meetings and conferences, sometimes lasting many hours, and that these had little effect on the autonomous republic's social and economic development. And subsequent speakers added that the chairman of the Council of Ministers did not adhere to principle in his selection of ministers and other administrators.

Tuva Obkom Plenum

18000233g SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian
5 Feb 88 p 2

[Report by A. Gamov, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent, on a plenum of the Tuva CPSU Obkom: "Accounts On Restructuring Are On the Agenda: The Roots of Laxity Are Still Strong"]

[Excerpts] At the plenum of the Tuva Party Obkom a chorus of speakers condemned the ASSR press, calling it excessively critical and saying that it defamed leaders. Is that true?

...Two days prior to the beginning of the plenum what seemed to be a completely unremarkable conversation took place between V. L. Maslov, editor of the republic

newspaper TUVINSKAYA PRAVDA, and A. K. Kan-zay, obkom secretary. The editor suggested that the buro's account include phrasing which, along with comments addressed at journalists who did not prepare critical articles in a conscientious manner and were guilty of inaccuracy, would also make reference to the administrators who clutch at any straw to "clear" themselves and end up getting away scot-free. The secretary insisted that only the first part be included.

I recalled that episode at the plenum at the beginning of discussion of the buro's account concerning its leadership in restructuring efforts, this account being presented to the plenum by G. Ch. Shirishin, obkom first secretary. The first speaker after the account was V. A. Bakulin, first secretary of the Kaa-Khemskiy Party Raykom, who stated, among other things, that perhaps it is now time for the republic press to diminish its critical ardor, stop insulting our cadres and begin working to improve their public image.

At first glance it would seem that this is a constructive comment, but on the other hand... Is it newspapers that are to blame for the decline in respect for the 12 administrators who were relieved of their positions in the ASSR last year because they had compromised themselves?

Going through back files of TUVINSKAYA PRAVDA one can see that recently it has been publishing more articles devoted to the serious problems of restructuring; during the past months alone approximately 60 such articles have appeared. The statistics are roughly the same for the other republic newspaper, SHYN, which is published in the Tuvan language. The content of the articles has also changed — the criticism has become more impartial and more to the point.

L. P. Kilin, director of the Kyzyl Poultry Factory, did not say a word about his own problems, instead devoting his entire speech to articles which, in his opinion, were "not objective."

His speech was greeted with applause from the floor. He also had the support of the next speaker, D. L. Tinmey, chairman of the Kyzyl Gorsovet Ispolkom.

What facts did L. P. Kilin refer to? It turns out that in one newspaper overview a letter appeared stating that by the fall housewives had lost most of the chicks they bought from the poultry factory in the summer. "Maybe they themselves let the chicks catch cold!" exclaimed the director. And on that basis he drew a serious conclusion: that article had caused tremendous harm to the development of private farm plots in Tuva, because now people would not buy chicks from his factory.

After the plenum was over journalists invited Kilin to come to the editorial offices and suggested that he familiarize himself with the findings of the local branches of Gosbank and the laboratory of the State

Bureau of Standards, which cited data attesting to poor product quality and other shortcomings uncovered at his enterprise. But the administrator still stuck by his opinion.

The staff of TUVINSKAYA PRAVDA and SHYN say that recently almost every critical article has received a reply either placing the blame elsewhere or attempting to justify the actions criticized. It comes as no surprise that some of the "victims" tried to take advantage of the forum provided by the plenum to "teach" the journalists "a lesson" once again and put them in their place.

The facts show that recently there has been a weakening of ties between the obkom buro and press organs. Upon closer inspection we also find that many of the failings on the part of the newspapers are due to the fact that journalists prefer not to turn to the obkom for advice too often, because it could "hack up" the topic or not give the go-ahead for publication.

"There was serious discussion of this at a buro meeting where we discussed the lessons to be drawn from the plenum," said G. Ch. Shirshin. "The main result of this latest accounting was the development of a specific program for our work during the second stage of restructuring. How can we get along without press organs in such important work? We will do everything possible to strengthen our ties with the newspapers. Let journalists have no doubts on this score: we will stand up for them."

But still it is a pity that these heartening words were not spoken at the plenum. Because probably many of those who think otherwise are now nursing the hope that "sharp-penned" newspaper writers have finally been made to toe the line. Is there any reason for causing this mistaken impression among them?

Chelyabinsk Obkom Plenum

18000233 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in
Russian 12 Feb 88 p 2

[Report by V. Shilov, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA special correspondent, on a plenum of the Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom: "At the Plenum of the Chelyabinsk Party Obkom: Sobered By Strictness"]

[Excerpts] More serious preparations were made for this plenum than ever before. A total of 32 meetings were held between buro members and the elected party aktiv, members of the apparatus staff at the rayon and city levels, party veterans and workers. Each buro member presented a personal account before primary party organizations. Through all the channels of feedback together over 1,200 comments and suggestions were received. A survey on the personal qualities of obkom leaders was conducted. Efforts were made to break down outdated organizational stereotypes, to look at oneself in the mirror of public opinion and to listen to honest, frank appraisals and advice.

The results of the survey were to a great extent discouraging. For example, obkom first secretary Nikolay Dmitriyevich Shvyrev and obkom secretary Grigoriy Ivanovich Petukhov received the lowest ratings on the "popularity index." One can imagine their feelings upon reading appraisals of themselves such as these: "Operates primarily by administrative methods, has poor knowledge of party work and has not mastered methods of political leadership." Other oblast leaders also found out many bluntly stated things about themselves.

Three-quarters of those surveyed indicated that the buro is not analyzing with sufficient thoroughness the issues submitted for its consideration. One-half of those surveyed commented that the buro's work does not show enough collective decision-making and goodwill, frequently lacks a political approach, and is often dominated by the administrative-dispatching style.

These strict appraisals made a very strong impression on the secretariat and buro. It was indeed painful to accept the idea that the customary external marks of respect do not always translate into real personal esteem.

"Quite frankly," stated N. D. Shvyrev, speaking at the plenum, "during the period of preparations for today's plenum I heard more critical comments about myself than during my entire career up until this point. No matter how painful it may be, I must admit that yes, the failings and errors in the oblast party organization's handling of restructuring are to a great extent the result of my personal shortcomings."

It was indeed unaccustomed for members of the obkom buro to hear such frank speeches, in particular such merciless self-appraisal coming from their first secretary. For decades that post has been beyond the reach of criticism, as if it were in and of itself a guarantee of flawlessness. Over the years first secretaries' decisions have come to be accepted as categorical and beyond appeal. And N. D. Shvyrev attempted to maintain the customary traditions, which conflicted to an ever greater extent with the course of restructuring. A sort of psychological turning point has occurred in the sentiments of Chelyabinsk communists, and this was reflected both in replies to the survey and in discussion at the plenum. The obkom buro, secretariat and apparatus were faced with the need to reevaluate the methods and style of their work, their personal behavior and their relationships to party activists and labor collectives. In my opinion, this is one of the principal manifestations of restructuring in the Chelyabinsk Obkom, and is evidence of a high coefficient of positive influence by the recent plenum. This process is not proceeding smoothly and painlessly.

We already have the situation that over the past two years the secretariat has almost completely changed its membership. The most important oblast party organization is now under the leadership of people who until quite recently were working as chief engineers of trusts and associations or as directors of plants and sovkhozes.

Nikolay Dmitriyevich Shvyrev himself spent 22 of his 30 working years in the economic sector. As they say, he learned from the school bench onward the skills, habits and ways of administrative-directive one-man command. It was with those methods that he entered party work. While in charge of construction affairs he assembled operational plans, headquarters and meetings. Less like a party administrator than a foreman on an oblast-wide scale. In the spring of 1986 he was elected obkom first secretary. In that post as well he continued to operate using those methods to which he was accustomed.

At first N. D. Shvyrev had no doubts concerning the correctness of his methods, and he was certain of the broad support of his colleagues. However, he was soon to find that an absence of objections is not always a sign of agreement. In March of last year the obkom discussed its tasks in light of January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum. It was there that V. P. Solovyev, first secretary of the Chelyabinsk Party Gorkom and a member of the obkom buro, went to the podium and leveled sharp criticism at Nikolay Dmitriyevich. Criticism because he kept the secretaries of gorkoms and obkoms tied up in telephone conferences for up to 30 hours per week, because he did not always take other people's opinions into account, because he did not give his colleagues in the secretariat any opportunity to demonstrate their organizational abilities. It was unpleasant for N. D. Shvyrev to hear all that about himself, but in his own report to the plenum he had appealed for critical analysis. Well, he listened, but his style and methods did not change. He continue to work as he did before. True, one now notices that the first secretary never misses an opportunity to criticize the Chelyabinsk Gorkom, a task made easier by the fact that there is so much there to criticize.

At the end of July there was another obkom plenum. This time the discussion centered on how best to carry out the decisions of the June (1987) Central Committee Plenum. And once again V. P. Solovyev was critical. As before, the obkom first secretary was twice a week dragging the entire oblast party-economic aktiv away from its work to sit in on numerous telephone conferences where no one's advice was solicited, and where the people of the city were roundly berated for not getting the manure spreading in the fields done quickly enough. And how were they supposed to get the job done when the manure had been piling up on the farms for decades, but now it was supposed to be spread it in a single month? Furthermore, plants had to fulfill their own production plans as well. But the first secretary would hear none of it!

Then Nikolay Dmitriyevich obviously decided that enough was enough. It was time to conduct "collective educational work" with the troublesome gorkom secretary and put him in his place. Once one is a member of the obkom buro one should learn to keep things within a narrow circle instead of attacking the authority of the

first secretary at plenums! But the members of the buro did not support Nikolay Dmitriyevich's efforts. What is more, they advised him to be more attentive to his comrades' comments, rely more on collective opinion and not abuse one-man command. An unexpected turn of events!

Vadim Pavlovich Solovyev is eight years younger than N. D. Shvyrev, but his record of public and political service is twice as long: six years in direct production work and 17 years in positions of responsibility in the Komsomol and the party. He returned to Chelyabinsk from Moscow after serving as chief of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee's Komsomol Organs Department. Thus he is more familiar with organization and political work than with economic operations.

In the anonymous survey a majority of party activists noted that he had such qualities as a continuous search for innovation and more efficient work forms and methods, the ability to create a favorable working environment, and respect for human dignity combined with strict standards for himself and others.

Obkom second secretary Vladimir Sergeyevich Fedoseyev also received mainly positive evaluations in the survey of the party aktiv. Of course, his work also showed the effects of his previous production-related and technical experience. However, he has made notable efforts to master party-political methods of leadership. For example, I recall how at the end of 1985 a meeting of the directors of enterprises and heads of financial and banking departments was held in V. S. Fedoseyev's office. The discussion at that meeting showed that economic cadres had a poor knowledge of the essentially new economic regulations and were not prepared to work under conditions of cost accounting. The party obkom organized serious economic retraining for plant directors and leading specialists. I feel that it was precisely that kind of advance planning which permitted Chelyabinsk industry to meet its overall plan goals for profitmaking last year, something which is an extremely important part of the transition to full cost accounting and self-financing.

However, as a result of years of accumulated inertia obkom secretaries, departments heads and the entire obkom apparatus have been basically following the lead set by the first secretary. From his office at the obkom, Vladimir Ivanovich Sergiyko supervises all construction projects in the oblast, and the staff of the oblast agroindustrial committee is afraid to make a move without Grigoriy Ivanovich Petukhov — the secretary has a sharp temper and lashes out at his opponents without bothering to choose his words too carefully. It was noted at the plenum that obkom offices issue many directives, commands and orders, yet little improvement is seen in agricultural or construction-related affairs. Almost every speaker at the plenum mentioned this.

The thorough analysis of oblast party leadership in restructuring which was conducted in preparation for the obkom plenum was reflected in this conclusion: the obkom buro has not yet become an organ of political leadership, tending more often toward the role of an economic administrative organ. Later members of the apparatus alleged that the report had exceeded permissible boundaries in its critical evaluation of the buro's work. However, the buro's high degree of self-criticism did not prompt any objections from the obkom members, though it did seem to prompt constructive requests and advice.

After the plenum I asked N. D. Shvyrev what his impressions of the plenum discussion were.

"After the scathing descriptions given in the survey I had expected harsher criticism. But evidently many of our activists are still more exacting in their thoughts than they are at the podium. Also clearly evident was the low level of obkom members' knowledge of the work done by the secretariat and buro. Now we can see more clearly and concretely the basic thrusts and main forces of restructuring of party work in this oblast. In short, the discussion provided abundant food for thought as well as for changes and corrections in the methods, style and behavior of each buro member. As for myself personally, I am smarting keenly under the lessons I have received. I think that I will find in myself the strength to work in a new way, as our times demand."

12825

Turkmen CC Discusses Party Involvement in Economic, Ideological Work
18300164 Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 14 Feb 88, pp 49-51

[Report on decisions at 9th plenum of Turkmen CC under the rubric: "CC Buro on the Road of Perestroika: Effectiveness of Critical Analysis"]

[Excerpts] The 9th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee which discussed the Central Committee Buro report on perestroika management constituted a lesson in democratism and glasnost as well as a self-critical and constructive approach to resolving the problems at hand.

In preparing itself for an exacting examination of its role in coordinating the timing and demands of perestroika, the Central Committee Buro and all of its staff communists undertook a considerable amount of preparatory work. The secretaries and Central Committee Buro members visited the primary party organizations and labor collectives, and participated in meetings and discussions with workers in the course of which many suggestions and remarks were offered with respect to improving the operational style of the elective organs. Central Committee members and candidate members and members of the Revision Commission were

acquainted with the topics of the report well in advance. Suggestions made by workers in connection with the preparations for the plenum were summarized in the republic's press. All of this became the basis for a motivated plenum discussion about ways for significantly activating republic party organization operations and for developing perestroika further. Twenty-one communists participated in the discussions of the report presented by First Secretary of the Turkmen Central Committee S. A. Niyazov.

All of the speakers noted with satisfaction that the Buro and Secretariat of the Turkmen Central Committee are undertaking purposeful leadership of perestroika efforts and that they have achieved definite positive changes. They also noted that political methods are being broadly instituted for the management of the national economy and the upbringing of the people. But changes in the republic are taking place slowly, and that means that the Buro and the Central Committee Secretariat must show more persistence, initiative, and action in carrying out the party policy line for accelerating socioeconomic development, accomplishing a radical reform in the managerial machinery, and developing the process of democratization.

In his report First Secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee S. A. Niyazov noted that a successful perestroika program is decisively dependent upon the cadre. In understanding that fact, the Central Committee Buro has taken timely measures to resolve urgent personnel problems, beginning with the Central Committee itself. The Buro, the Secretariat as well as the Central Committee apparatus have undergone recent reforms. Dozens of supervisors, party, soviet, and operational organs that make up the Central Committee have been replaced. As time has shown, the leadership there has now been taken basically by competent, principled personnel who understand the goals and tasks of perestroika.

However, the measures that have been taken so far have been insufficient. Many of the new workers do not have a sufficient degree of competence and ability to avoid red tape or do they know how to organize operations properly and control the execution of decisions that are being made.

"Having selected a correct course to intensify the degree of exactingness and demands expected of the party committees, the Central Committee Buro has not yet achieved a concise degree of performance discipline on the part of the republic organs," said First Secretary of the Mary party obkom Ch. Gedzhenov. "That can be illustrated by the realization of the decree of the interim session of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro which discussed the work of our obkom on restructuring the style and methods of the party's management of economic and social development. We expected more specific help from the republic's ministries and departments which were entrusted with the task of resolving 35 organizational problems. However, as of today measures

have been taken to deal with only seven of those problems. Very frequently, in an attempt to demonstrate how restructured they are, Central Committee personnel waste much of their time on low-level party committees and on collecting various kinds of information rather than engaging in active organizational work."

Chairman of the Krasnovod Oblast ispolkom T. Babadzhanov, First Secretary of the Tashauz party obkom O. Khodzhaev, and other speakers spoke about red tape and the bureaucratic approach taken by a number of officials with respect to resolving a number of most important problems. In the opinion of First Secretary of the Ashkhabad party obkom V. S. Chertishchev whose views were supported by other plenum participants, the lack of a seriously well thought out system of training party personnel and reserves constitutes a serious shortcoming of the Turkmen Central Committee Buro and departments. He said that in the last two years there has been a 86 percent turnover in the apparatuses of the Ashkhabad Oblast party committees and that 63 percent of the gorraykom secretaries has been replaced. Most of those replacements have come from industry and do not have any experience in party work. These are reliable and trusted persons. However, neither the Central Committee apparatus nor the local party organs have shown the necessary concern required to train the new party personnel.

In discussing the results of the plenum, the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro has recognized the need to develop and implement the comprehensive "Cadre" program which provides for a coordinated system of party organ operations designed to form and train a personnel reserve. A decision was made to undertake the certification of responsible officials at party, soviet, and public organs. In attempting to raise the level of exactingness on the part of all persons, which in this case pertains to moral fiber of supervisors, their honesty, integrity, modesty, and moral decency, and based on their practical contribution to the implementation of the perestroika tasks, during the period since the 9th Plenum the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro through the party procedural process has relieved a number of supervisors of their duties whose actions have compromised the ideas and cause of perestroika.

Plenum participants expressed their great concern about the fact that frequently administrative obstacles and petty wardships block initiative and interfere with normal operations. For example, TuSSR Minister of Construction M. Dzhamakuliyev cited quite a few specific instances where attempts by the Central Committee to work on current operational problems were not only to no avail but also entailed a senseless waste of time and in fact hindered operations. Or take the following case: On instructions "from higher up" construction of installations is temporarily halted while new construction sites are started which results in longer construction times. This is the reason why the Turkmen Central Construction Administration has an unrealistic program for the

next three years, but blames the minister and the administration chief for a shortage of working capital which comes to more than 15 million rubles.

In continuing to address this topic, First Secretary of the Ashkhabad party gorkom Kh. Akhmedov emphasized: "We have not yet made a concise differentiation between the functional duties of the operational, soviet, and party organs with respect to the party management of the economy. In correctly posing these demands at Buro and Secretariat plenums and sessions, in practice the Central Committee in most cases holds the party gorkom accountable for the resolution of purely operational problems. As members of the primary party organizations, party supervisors are primarily interested in production matters and rarely with questions related to how the party organization is getting along or with problems that are of concern to the organization. We understand that no one is taking away responsibility from the party organs for the political leadership of operational activity. At the same time we consider it essential that the Central Committee Buro correctly place more exactingness on the part of the party and operational organs for the state of affairs and place greater demands upon the ministries and departments to take responsibility for work done by subordinate enterprises."

Trade union operations are unthinkable without party leadership, noted Chairman of the Turkmen Trade Union Council O. I. Ishankuliyev in his address. But some party organ officials in the republic are still trying to supervise through telephone instructions and requests. Secretaries of the Turkmen CP Central Committee participate with extreme rarity in the work of the Turkmen Trade Union Council plenums. Moreover, the last meeting between a Central Committee secretary and officials of the Turkmen Trade Union Council and raykom trade unions took place as long ago as 1974. An indication as to how essential such meetings are is the fact that for 14 years now the trade union aktiv has been recollecting the last discussion it had with a Central Committee secretary.

To one degree or another practically all of the session participants touched upon the problem of improving the style and methods of party operations. There was an intensive discussion about how to avoid confusion with regard to the functions of party committees and operational organs. In previous years, the speakers said, elements of a pressure-command style of operation took a strong foothold and were intensely reflected in the practical work of party committees. As a consequence, the parties began to pay less attention to political problems and frequently overlooked their principal task — that of vigorously working with people. It was noted that the perestroika period now requires that party committees place their principal emphasis on working with the cadre and labor collectives and on developing their initiative and raising their level of responsibility. Each party

committee must act as a generator of new ideas, formulate new approaches to resolving a complex of tasks, and support innovative research and initiatives.

Based on these requirements, the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro has undertaken to develop a system for improving the style and methods of party committee operations. In particular, practical operations of the Central Committee are to include the dispatch of comprehensive groups of officials who will render practical assistance to local organizations. A training program will be organized for Central Committee apparatus workers on problems concerned with restructuring the management of the economy. In the immediate months ahead local analyses will be made of the work being done by the republic's party committees on improving the leadership of lower party links and expanding the application of democratic principles in their activity. The result of that analysis will be discussed at the plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee.

The report of the Turkmen CP Central Committee particularly emphasized that the fate of perestroika largely depends upon on how energetically questions pertaining to economic reform and the introduction of a new managerial machinery will be resolved. However, full use is not being made of opportunities to raise economic efficiency and there are still many acute problems that remain to be resolved. The growth in both the volume and qualitative indices that has been accomplished largely through some strengthening of discipline and a greater degree of cadre responsibility, has not yet reached the necessary scale and level of dynamism.

This concern of the Buro members was also shared by the plenum participants who made a considerable number of comments with great urgency about problems related to the fuller utilization of the republic's economic potential. First Secretary of the Tashauz party obkom O. Khodzhaev, TuSSR Minister of Communications Sh. Muradov, TuSSR Chairman of the Civil Defense Headquarters N. K. Kapustyan, and other speakers emphasized that particular attention should now be given to problems pertaining to a radical economic reform and the activation of democratic principles in the operations of labor collectives.

In fact economic universal education has not yet been sufficiently developed in the republic. Recently, after the 9th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee, a team of the CPSU Central Committee was in the republic studying the status of perestroika with respect to the political and economic education of the workers. The members of this team offered considerable practical assistance to party organizations and operational organs to improve the organization of economic education.

As regards the intolerable sluggishness and major shortcomings in the planning and resolution of economic and social problems on the part of the TSSR Council of Ministers, Gosagroprom, and republic ministries and

departments, about which much was said in both the report and the speeches made by the Turkmen CP Central Committee members, the Central Committee Buro has decided to take those problems under its special control. Measures are being taken to avoid red tape, unsubstantiated planning and improper distribution of resources and material funds on the part of the republic organs.

Problems pertaining to improved ideological work were broadly discussed at the plenum. Many constructive suggestions and criticisms were offered. It was noted that the Central Committee Buro did not succeed in achieving any noticeable changes in the restructuring of ideological work. It was also noted that party committees are poorly attuned to that task, and that too much tolerance is allowed supervisors of ideological institutions who have not taken an active and aggressive role in the struggle against relics of the past, the harmful influence of Islam, bourgeois ideology and morality, and negative phenomena.

The speakers also spoke about the stagnation in the work of the ideology departments of the Turkmen CP Central Committee whose employees who have entrenched themselves in offices and work by old methods. They also spoke about the petty wardship and fussiness to the detriment of resolving forward-looking problems in the work of comrade M. Mollayeva.

TuSSR Minister of Education M. Aliyeva spoke at the plenum about this kind of pretended activism on the part of the Turkmen CP Central Committee with respect to the public education organs: "Instead of making a thorough analysis of the reasons for stagnation in school affairs, the Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department more often than not replaces public education organs and undertakes massive inspections which are largely carried out by the very same officials of the Ministry of Education. A procedure has evolved in the republic whereby supervisors of public education organs are shifted about and released by party committees without any preliminary preparation or selection of worthy candidates. Consequently, the chiefs of the Geok-Tepinskiy Rayon Department of Public Education and Mary Oblast Department of Public Education, and many other supervisors were released with undue haste. This resulted in a long vacancy of those positions which were ultimately filled by persons who did not have the necessary teaching experience or administrative abilities." The Minister of Education bitterly spoke about the fact that the party committees of the Kirovskiy, Kalininskiy, Tedzhenskiy, Bakhardenskiy, Takhtinskiy, and a number of other rayons have been essentially ignoring the decision of the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro which has condemned the practice of recruiting pupils for agricultural work while school is in session.

In continuing the thoughts expressed by M. Aliyeva on the need for fundamental changes in the management of ideological operations, TuSSR Minister of Education K.

Chagylov said that there has been a lack of systematic planning and consistency in the resolution of urgent public health problems as reflected in the work style and methods of the Central Committee, or more precisely, in the work of the Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department and of the Central Committee Secretary responsible for public health affairs. The party leadership today does not have an integral program for perestroika in the public health sector and the local party organs are doing a poor job of overseeing the execution of CPSU Central Committee and Turkmen CP Central Committee decrees pertaining to the public health sector. Thus, a republic-wide party-managerial aktiv was held in 1985 on problems pertaining to the status and measures taken for the improvement of women's working, domestic, and rest conditions as well as mother and child care. A good resolution was adopted but many of its provisions are being implemented in an extremely slow manner. No practical results were obtained from the work of the Commission on Mother and Child Care that was created in 1986. On the other hand, petty wardship in personnel problems is continuing. It has gotten to the point where a departmental penalty is sometimes required in order to have an ordinary physician accepted for work.

The decision of the 9th Plenum of the Turkmen CP Central Committee to relieve comrade M. Mollayeva of her duties as Central Committee Secretary was the first practical result of the critical analysis made of the work being done in the republic's ideological sector.

Measures are being taken with regard to the specific instances mentioned on the plenum rostrum. But in consideration of the need to resolve these problems in a comprehensive and forward-looking manner, the Turkmen CP Central Committee Buro has decided that at one of its next sessions it will hear a report from Chief of the Science and Educational Institutions Department Ye. Ovyakuliyev on the implementation of party leadership over the activity of the republic's teaching, therapeutic, and scientific institutions.

Considerable attention in the report and addresses by plenum participants to the democratization of public life. It was emphasized that constant control must be maintained over problems pertaining to the further development of criticism and self-criticism whose significance had been diminished in the recent past. This caused considerable harm to the development of the republic and the education of communists, supervisors, and all workers. Second Secretary of the Chardzhou party obkom V. N. Rebrik also spoke to this point in referring to his own work: "It is not every day that one hears comments directed at oneself by obkom members in questionnaires that were completed on the eve of the plenum. Eighteen percent of those queried responded that the Second Secretary was basically working with the supervisory staff, with a limited aktiv and did not reach out to the lower rank links and the rank and file communists. One out of every ten took note of my

inability to make critical judgments of my own omissions, shortcomings, and errors in my work. You must agree that there was quite a bit to think about and lots of room for improvement. I say that in connection with the fact that today we have in the report a good lesson in self-criticism from the Central Committee Buro, and yet here we have criticism from below to the effect that the assessments would have been more precise and more complete if all of the Central Committee members were questioned. Yes, and in general, comrades, in our view, adherence to the well known most laconic and capacious command — 'Do as I do!' — constitutes a force of no small importance in perestroika.

The Buro and Secretariat of the Turkmen CP Central Committee are consistently striving to instill and develop within communists in all party organizations a sense of self-criticism and intolerance toward shortcomings, stagnation in their duties, ostentation, and idle talk. They are striving to create a universal atmosphere of scrupulousness and truth. A practical step in that direction was the decision to hold periodic meetings between Central Committee Buro members and the electoral staff of the Central Committee directly in the oblasts, cities, and rayons of the republic. There will be no slackening toward those officials who react improperly and who attempt by all possible means to suppress criticism directed toward them. The attitude toward criticism must and will be perceived as an important criterion of the attitude toward perestroika and toward everything new that is happening in our society.

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Cherkassy Oblast Officials Scored for Consumer Goods Shortages

18000191b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 Jan 88 p 2

[Article by O. Gusev, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent: "How Can Shortages Be Eliminated? A Plenum of the Cherkassy Obkom of the Ukrainian Communist Party Discussed the Report of the Buro on the Management of Restructuring"]

[Text] An enormous fir tree stands in the square in the center of Cherkassy. A ruddy Grandfather Frost greets the passersby. This year, he has more presents than in the past. The windows of cooperative departments of stores also look more inviting: they display fur caps, sweaters, women's jackets, children's clothing, toys. There are more "fast-moving" goods and souvenirs. But unfortunately they are not so plentiful that "shortages" have disappeared as a concept.

This word was also frequently heard with respect to different spheres of the economy at the plenum of the Cherkassy Obkom of the Ukrainian CP which discussed

the report of the buro on the management of restructuring. In addition to searching for optimal solutions to the main problems in oblast life, the speakers also noted ways of increasing holiday and everyday goods and services.

After analyzing the sources of shortages, the speakers declared in one voice: we can no longer tolerate shortages that we ourselves can put an end to. At the plenum, V. Shapovalov, chairman, Cherkassy Oblispolkom; member of the obkom buro, was seriously rebuked for paying insufficient attention to the development of the oblast's social sphere. Thus, enterprises of all-union subordination in the oblast account for 38 percent of its industrial output and 3.3 percent of its consumer goods production. Output per ruble of wage fund is only 4 kopecks at the Zolotonoshskiy Machine Repair Plant; 16 kopecks at the Kanevskiy Medtekhnik Plant; and 18 kopecks in the Khimvolokno Association.

The plenum emphasized that the consumer service sphere is a sensitive barometer of restructuring. The report by I. Lutak, obkom first secretary, cited such figures. According to preliminary 2-year totals, industrial output has increased by almost 10 percent and more products now bear the Quality Emblem. However there is a shortage of consumer goods in trade. The shortfall in deliveries of consumer goods to the stores in 2 years has exceeded 40 million rubles.

The level of personal and municipal services in Cherkassy Oblast has for a long time been in one of the last places in the Ukraine.

Are collectives at industrial enterprises trying to find optimal ways of extricating themselves from such situations? How are primary party organizations and party obkom departments helping them in this respect?

"As a member of the obkom buro, I have repeatedly had to concern myself with the problem of consumer goods production," I was told by V. Reznik, an equipment operator at the Cherkassy Sugar Refining Plant. "Many necessities are still not to be found in the stores. There are no washing machines, for example. Milkmaids, female swineherds, and female collective farmers engaged in field work put their names on waiting lists and wait for a long time before they can actually purchase them. Members of the obkom buro have repeatedly advised the managers of some of the large oblast enterprises to master the production of at least small washing machines of the Malyutka type. They have absolutely agreed to help and we, lulled by their promises, have not been in any hurry to see whether they are making good on their promises. I frankly state that we have not called any of the 'promisers' strictly to account in the last 1.5-2 years for failing to produce the items we need. Therefore, many of them continue to refer to various objective reasons that prevent their collectives

from demonstrating their enterprise. They say, in particular, that they are unable to find anyone to produce motors for the Malyutka. And we in the buro accept their explanation as proper.

Instead of making our demands on all-union bodies from time to time in the hope of obtaining in a shorter time that which we can make ourselves, stated the speakers at the plenum, we must make a careful search for reserves that are at the surface. These reserves are being poorly used to date. At the Cherkassy Telegraph Equipment Plant, amateur designers have developed a new-generation stereophonic cassette tape recorder that weights only 650 grams. There is also interest at the Kanevskiy Magnit Plant in producing a miniature sound recording unit as soon as possible. However it is still not being series-produced. One of the reasons for this is that because it is a consumer good, it is classified as a nonbasic product as far as the enterprise is concerned. Despite the fact that the June (1987) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee put an end to such unjustified gradations of products, the awkward situation continues.

The research and design organizations of the telegraph equipment plants, the Fotopribor Plant and the Kompleks and Rotor science-production associations are situated in the same area in Cherkassy. But they sometimes do not speak the same language as production. Who if not the obkom should help them to organize a useful, constructive dialogue? The struggle against shortages must begin with bringing unutilized potential into play. The problem of coordinating the production of consumer goods at the city's industrial enterprises and of building shops for their production is unjustifiably protracted. Thus instead of the one and one-half shops that should have been built according to the norm, a shop for the production of fertilizers in the Azot Association has been under construction for 6 years.

The quality of goods is also unsatisfactory. The reason for this is sluggishness at the local level, which is connected in particular with the slow growth of the equipment shift operation coefficient which is a mere 1.22 at the present time. Despite the fact that the obkom buro has called the attention of the Cherkassy gorkom and gorispolkom to their lack of initiative and to their wait-and-see position on converting the city's enterprises to multiple-shift operation, members of the gorkom buro and V. Sokorenko, the gorkom first secretary, personally have not behaved responsibly toward the decision. As a result, there have been no substantial changes. And so it is that many production facilities and enterprises continue to operate in a single shift.

In the coming year, the oblast must for the most part complete the conversion of the operation of equipment to two shifts and the operation of highly productive equipment to three shifts. All jobs must be brought into line with the demands of the scientific organization of labor on the basis of certification and rationalization. Responsibility for the shortcomings and omissions that

have accumulated in industry is borne by G. Kuzmichev, secretary; and V. Tsybenko and L. Teslya, party obkom department chiefs, who were not able to unify and direct the efforts of party committees and work collectives toward the fulfillment of the total volume of measures designed to convert the economy to the intensive path of development and the new conditions of management. They, the speakers noted, do not always have the ability to carry what they begin to the end and to see the future beyond the current moment.

Such criticism, which indicated the guilty parties and concrete omissions, was frequently heard in the report and in the speeches. The rapporteur self-critically acknowledged that the necessary consistency and depth of obkom buro activity in managing the restructuring process had not yet been attained in particular because he, as first secretary, had not been entirely successful in coordinating the work of the oblispolkom, oblast trade union council, Komsomol obkom, and other organizations on a number of major economic and social problems. Thus the secretary took it upon himself to solve many problems including problems for which soviet and economic organs were responsible.

In my view, many sections of the report contained too much technological detail. Such a "production-oriented" approach by the rapporteur set the tone for many speakers. Some speakers erred by giving personal reports and by raising narrow economic issues. For this reason, there was excitement in the hall when G. Kuzmichev, obkom secretary, took the floor and called upon communists, in particular the heads of primary party organizations, not to get so bogged down in various technological details and instead to spend more time coordinating the activity of party committees.

The speakers asked why proposals received repeatedly by the obkom on improving the production of consumer goods had not been carried out. Because the smooth, correct paragraphs that went from report to report were not reinforced by concrete organizational work and were not closely monitored by obkom buro members, including N. Beloblotskiy. Consequently, everyone seemed to pay lip service to eliminating shortages but in fact...

The plenum, after making a candid and principled assessment of the activity of the obkom buro, declared that it had not yet attained the necessary dynamism and depth in its effort to direct restructuring. In particular, it had not secured the necessary acceleration in individual sectors of the economy and in the social sphere. The obkom buro, the plenum indicated, did not make sufficiently high demands on communist managers regarding the slow resolution of specific questions relating to the improvement of living conditions, to increasing production and improving the quality of consumer goods.

Scherbitsky Signs Obituary of Former Cherkassy Obkom First Secretary
18110056 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 1 Mar 88 p 3]

[Excerpts] On 28 February 1988 Oleksandr Mykytovych Andryeyev, aged 71, died after a long and difficult illness. He was a state pensioner and a former first secretary of the UkSSR CP Cherkassy Obkom.

O.M. Andryeyev was born 11 March 1917 in the village of Dmytrivka, Znamenskiy Rayon, Kirovograd Oblast into the family of a poor peasant. After finishing a pedagogical technical institute in 1933, he began his career as a teacher. He served at the front during the Great Patriotic War and took part in combat with the German fascist invaders. In 1944 he became a member of the CPSU.

From 1945, O.M. Andryeyev engaged in party work. He was elected raykom first secretary, secretary, obkom second secretary, and from 1965 to 1976 he served as Cherkassy obkom first secretary.

O.M. Andryeyev was elected Central Committee member for the 23rd and 24th UkSSR Communist Party Congresses. He was a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet for the 7th, 8th and 9th convocations and a deputy of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet for the 8th convocation.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state greatly valued O.M. Andryeyev's services. In his lifetime he was awarded three Orders of Lenin, an Order of the October Revolution, Order of the Patriotic War of the 1st degree, Order of the Red Banner of Labor and various medals.

[Signed] V.V. Scherbitskiy, V.S. Shevchenko, O.A. Tytarenko, Yu.N. Yelchenko, I.O. Mozgovyy, V.O. Sologub, Yu.P. Kolomiyets, I.K. Lutak, V.N. Shapoval, M.P. Byeloblotskiy, G.P. Kuzmychov, V.G. Sokorenko, G.V. Sukhovershko, L.P. Shytova, K.P. Yastreba, M.I. Kasyanenko

Georgian CC Concerned Over Disturbances at Public Sporting Events

18130417 [Editorial Report] Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian on 11 February 1988 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1200-word Gruzinform article on the Georgian Central Committee's concern over recent outbreaks of violence at sporting events. The article details fights, suspension of teams from play, violations, injuries and other disturbances which have occurred throughout the republic over the past year. The disturbances involved players, spectators and sports officials, but no source of instigation was identified. In an effort to return public sporting events to a more positive role, members of the Georgian Central Committee recommended that "republic party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations implement a series of measures to increase the role of public

sporting events in ideological education, strengthen the moral-psychological climate, organize workers' valuable free time, and further increase the mass appeal of physical culture and sports." In particular, they stated that "local party organs and appropriate ministries and departments have been given explicit instructions to prevent further

violations of order both inside and outside of sports facilities, to strengthen the educational work with the spectators and participants at the events, and to undertake decisive measures against the disrupters of discipline and social order, including the disbandment of teams and decertification of stadiums."

Readers Spar Over Defense of Stalin

Society To Defend Stalin's Memory Proposed

18300199 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in
Russian 19 Mar 88 p 1

[Letter from G. Turetskiy of Leningrad: "About Criticism of I. Stalin"]

[Text] In regard to the unbridled campaign against comrade Stalin, I am proposing the creation of a society of defenders of his memory.

Yes, there were repressions during the time of Stalin, but during the time of Khrushchev and Brezhnev there was a decay of the faith in our just cause. So what is worse: to lose a few million people or to have tens of millions of people who have lost their moral guidance?

Russia needs an iron hand for at least another generation! I request that the paper regularly allocate just a quarter of a page to those who want to say something good about Stalin and the Stalinist period.

Stalin represents a fanatical feeling for our Motherland, a chastening sword!

Proposal Ridiculed

18300199 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in
Russian 29 Mar 88 p 1

[Letters from candidate of historical sciences and docent P. Zolin, Novgorod, and I. Tsirin, Moscow: "Concerning the Opinion of G. Turetskiy"]

[Text] From P. Zolin, candidate of historical sciences and docent, Novgorod: G. Turetskiy proposed the creation of a society of defenders of Stalin's memory and the allocation of a quarter of a page in the newspaper to positive stories about him.

I agree. And as facilities for this society let us use those places where those 'few millions,' who, according to G. Turetskiy, had to perish for the sake of "a fanatical feeling for our Motherland, a chastening sword," languished until the ends of their lives. In those places the representatives of this jackassid idiotism can say whatever good they want about the "chastening sword."

From I. Tsirin, Moscow:

The admirers of Stalinist methods have a great morality! The whole truth must be told about the crimes of Stalin, about how, while hiding behind the slogans of Leninism, in essence he perverted them. If we are successful in this, the monolithic braking mechanism will be dealt a crippling blow. This must be done in the name of the future, so that all of us will profit from the lesson of history.

Church, State Find a Common Meeting Ground at International Church Conference

18120065 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 12,
27 Mar-3 Apr 88 p 13

[Article by Alexander Nezhny]

[Text] Metropolitan Aleksiy of Leningrad and Novgorod, permanent member of the Holy Synod: "The conference was sponsored by the Russian Orthodox Church. Its venue was the Ecclesiastical Academy in Leningrad. It was attended by 131 people from 20 countries representing different Christian churches, theological and secular research and educational establishments. The conference heard a total of 108 papers devoted to Russian Orthodoxy."

I shall try to convey the considerations and impressions not so much of the theme as such, but of everything that comprised the spirit of that meeting. First and foremost, it was further evidence of the deep-going changes in our life—perhaps one of the first of such widely representative meetings between secular scholars—historians, philologists, philosophers and art critics—and theologians, clergymen and church historians. The conference focused mainly on the Russian people's creative effort, which for certain socio-historical reasons has been strongly influenced by the Orthodox Church. In this context, Academician Dmitry Likhachev said: "The leap into the kingdom of literature occurred simultaneously with the emergence in Russ of Christianity and the church which demanded a written language and church-based culture." For six days the Leningrad Ecclesiastical Academy laid host to people from literally every corner of the world. The baptism of Russ, this outstanding fact of our domestic history, is an equally outstanding fact of world history. In recognition thereof, UNESCO, on the Soviet Union's initiative, has declared this year the Year of the Millennium of the Baptism of Russ and intends, as Maurice Glele, a spokesman for the UNESCO Director-General, told the conference, to organize a number of activities, including the symposium "The Significance of the Introduction of Christianity in Old Russia for the Development of Culture, and World and European Civilization".

Indeed, it is now impossible to imagine the cultural image of humankind without the great Russian icon paintings, church architecture and music. And may no one be confused by the religious coating of many remarkable creations of the people's genius. This should not serve as a pretext for declaring that culture, shaped up in this fashion, does not merit attention. In the final analysis, church singing is nothing but the people's voice reaching us from the depths of the ages. The times of deliberate consignment to oblivion have passed, and today we keenly listen to, look at and read about the works of national culture sanctified by the thousand-year-old tradition.

It was with a feeling of pride—I don't conceal this—that I listened to Salvatore Scribano of the Vatican who, speaking about the achievements of the human genius, mentioned the names of Russian philosopher Yevgeny Trubetskoi, prosaist Mikhail Bulgakov and poet Osip Mandelshtam. James Billington, Director of the Library of US Congress, expert on the Russian schism and author of books about Nikolai Berdyaev on the history of Russian culture and Russian Narodism, investigated the ties of many significant phenomena in this century's art with the Orthodox tradition. Sabina Keller, a lecturer at the Martin Luther State University in Hall (GDR), told us about the subtleties in translating *Lives of Feodosiy of Pechera* from Old Russian into German. Sifting through papers I satisfied myself that the interest shown in a culture, which this year marks its thousandth anniversary, is worldwide.

I am convinced that our whole society has yet to do a great deal of hard work, work that in a way reminds me of that done to restore the original image of ancient icons. We have to clear our mentality of habitual prejudices. The conference, I think, demonstrated the possibility of an impartial, open and honest discussion. True knowledge is always fearless—in the history of the Russian Orthodox Church it will certainly note that the official religion was sometimes inculcated by force, that there were facts of the Church's neglect of the monuments of history and culture, and its intolerance of dissent; but the search for the truth is bound to underline the Church's role as the keeper of the seat of national culture, as the starting point of any understanding of many phenomena in art and thinking, and even of the destinies of many outstanding people in our homeland.

The conference repeatedly mentioned the name of Pavel Florensky, priest, theologian, philosopher, art critic, engineer and mathematician. Reference to the works of this scholar-encyclopedist was made by Academician B.V. Raushenbakh, a prominent Soviet scientist who presented a paper on some aspects of iconography, by V.A. Nikitin, editor of the publishing department of *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*, by Nina Kaukhchishvili, head of the Russian Language and Literature Chair at Bergamo University (Italy), and by A.M. Kopirovsky, staff member of the Andrei Rublev Central Museum of Old Russian Culture and Art.

Culture owes its existence to diversity. It is ruined by any kind of interdiction, restriction or protectionism. And we should by all means restore to our legacy everything which Russian thought is rich in. The more so that this wealth, as the conference in Leningrad indicates, has long been firmly established as a special component of world culture. Only bureaucrats holding official positions in the ideological field may apprehend that occasional readings of a philosopher adhering to different ideological positions may impair the reader's ideas on scientific materialism. Let us recall what Maxim Gorky said about V.V. Rozanov, a religious writer and philosopher: "He was a very interesting person, almost a man

of genius." This assessment of Rozanov did not prevent Gorky from engaging in a principled ideological dispute with him. This is a really creative attitude towards legacy, where "know" is by no means tantamount to "accept".

It is only natural that at the church conference practically every paper quoted biblical texts in one way or another. The Bible fueled the creative work of Dante and Dostoyevsky, inspired Rublev and Michelangelo; were it not for it there would be no Cathedral of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin on the river Nerl, no Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed in Milan. But alas, as before it is exceedingly difficult for us to acquaint ourselves with this book, to say nothing of buying it. We are robbing ourselves—I have no doubts whatsoever on this score. After all, a very naive or extremely narrow-minded person would decide that publication of the bible on a mass scale would entail an increase in the number of believers. Mass publication of the Bible can only improve the general cultural level.

James Billington: Ever since the Battle of Stalingrad I have wanted to understand Russia. A Russian emigre told me: you should read "War and Peace". I read it first in translation, then got a dictionary and started reading it in Russian. This involved an immense amount of work. Subsequently my scientific interest focused mainly on Russia, its history and culture. I can say that the significance of Orthodoxy in Russian history cannot be exaggerated. Suffice it to refer, in this connection, to the role the Orthodox Church played in colonizing your country's North and East.

Only with the first and most superficial glance did it seem that the many problems discussed at the conference had no social coloring and practically no relation to the needs of real life. The discussion about the expected rise in prices seemed more in keeping with the evil of the day—but it is not for nothing that the saying has it: not by bread alone. "Beauty will save the world"—do you remember? This catchphrase of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's has now kind of come into vogue.

Archbishop Kirill of Smolensk and Vyazma: "This conference is of immense importance—and not only scientific or cultural. For too long a time we have been in different rooms, though they had a common corridor—the sincere interest in domestic culture that brings all of us together. And we have met. This is a sign of hope, a result of perestroika in our social life. The Russian Orthodox Church has pinned on perestroika its hopes for definite changes in its existence."

Our society has gradually been getting rid of the stereotypes of thinking and the fear of polyphonism. This means that society is gaining the ability to make historically accurate and independent estimates. We who

yearn for diversity of judgments, for historical authenticity and the possibility to look for the truth away from the well-trodden paths—all of us greatly treasure the freedom of knowledge and reflection.

In Paris there lived "one of the three greatest Orthodox icon painters of at least the past two centuries" (from the paper by Archpriest N.M. Ozolin, Assistant Professor at the St-Serge Institut de Theologie Orthodoxe in Paris), Leonid Alexandrovich Uspensky, the son of a Voronezh peasant, who died in December last year. Besides everything else, he was one of the greatest Orthodox theologians of our time (from the paper by Professor K. Skouteris of Greece).

Standing at the cradle of the Russian church singing was Theodosiy Pechersky, the founder of the Kiev-Pechersk Monastery (Lavra), who introduced "in Russ the cardinal concept of Byzantine musical aesthetics—angel-voiced singing" (from the paper by T.F. Vladyshevskaya, Cand. Sc. (History of Art), Assistant Professor at the Moscow Conservatoire).

The baptism and coronation of Prince Vladimir took place at the Uvarov Basilica of Khersones (from the paper by S.A. Belyaev, Cand. Sc. (History), research associate at the Institute of World History, USSR Academy of Sciences).

I took these papers almost at random, without particularly bothering myself with the choice, with the sole purpose of confirming a very old truism, namely, that knowledge is a boon. While cognizing, we cease to feel like Ivans who do not remember their kith and kin. We come to know ourselves as responsible heirs to a great culture.

Academician B.V. Raushenbakh: "The conference gave the impression of being strictly scientific and extremely profound. Widely differing viewpoints and free discussion of submitted problems were its main features. For the first time, perhaps, this was a meeting between two sciences: secular and religious. Until now our joint work with the Church has been confined to one, though very important, sphere: peace-making activities. Here, however, we marked the beginning of joint research into our country's history and culture, and the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in the spiritual and cultural life of our homeland and its history."

We went on an outing to Novgorod.

In the bus I took a seat next to Professor F. von Lilienfeld, a Slavist and theologian from Friedrich-Alexander University in Erlangen (FRG). At the conference she presented a paper on Novgorod's icon of St. Sophia—the Wisdom of God. She speaks fluent Russian and is an expert on Russian culture. For the umpteenth time during these six days I caught myself thinking that, more often than not, our realization of the true significance of our own dignity can be furthered by a person

from a different world, a person of different views and traditions—a foreigner. Besides everything else, a foreigner is sometimes more in a position to see the changes going on in our country. “Twenty years ago I had to tell my soviet colleagues Slavists about what the Russian Orthodox Church was like. Now I know that you have started writing quite a lot on the subject. This is important, including on the international plane, assisting as it does in confidence-building.”

F. von Lilienfeld, a woman from a fairly difficult background, is firmly convinced that humankind badly needs the curative force of culture today. And it is just wonderful that people from many countries were able to meet under the vaults of the Novgorod Church of St. Sophia—the oldest Russian church—and acquire a profound and complete feeling of the living bond connecting ages, countries and peoples.

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Religious Influences On Youth Not Countered In Schools

18110055 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
28 Feb 88 p 2

[Article by P. Scherban, docent, department of pedagogy and psychology, Kiev Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages, and Honored Teacher of the UkSSR entitled “You Think, A Cross....”]

[Text] Recently there was a Communist Party Central Committee plenum which focused on the course of perestroika in the middle and higher schools and problems encountered by the party in its implementation in the schools. Pedagogical collectives are presently in the midst of a heated discussion on how best to realize party directives. The teachers’ primary attention is turned to the manner in which to give children a strong, basic education and how best to prepare them for joining the work force. But in my opinion, my colleagues are troubling themselves very little over what to do to secure a mature worldview and dialectic-materialistic convictions in students. Is it possible that everything in these areas is perfectly okay? Let’s take, for example, the problem of atheistic education.

Quite a few teachers for some reason think that in principle children cannot be religious under the conditions of socialism and the strong moral atmosphere of our society, as well as what children are taught in the Soviet schools. They say that there is no real basis for religiousness. I think that there is no basis for these assertions. Which of these pedagogues has studied this question and when have they done so? Consequently, the teachers at our institute together with graduate students there conducted research in a number of city and village schools.

“Why are you so interested in atheistic education?” asked the pedagogues in amazement. “We neither have believers as students nor parents who are believers.”

These sorts of remarks flavored by a distinct hint of amazement and complacency were heard repeatedly. We turned our attention to the students themselves. We offered questionnaires principally to upperclassmen. We counted on a serious and thoughtful attitude as well as frankness from the students. “What do you perceive a communist worldview to be?” 27.4 percent of the respondents gave fairly confused answers, while the rest of the students absolutely did not know. What can be deduced from these results? And, by the way, these results were obtained in schools where the quality of educational preparation was not considered among the worst and in which the teachers were convinced that they placed particular emphasis on the formation of a communist worldview in their students.

To the question of “What is freedom of conscience?” again only an insignificant number of students gave correct responses, although it would seem they should have known the answer from the course in the school curriculum entitled “The Fundamentals of the Soviet State and Law.” Included among the subjects covered in this course are political and individual rights and the freedoms accorded to Soviet citizens.

So then, what is wrong? Boys and girls learn textbook materials only to get a good grade. But what do they need this knowledge for, and where and when will it be useful in real life? Very few of them think about this. And it’s obvious that teachers also have not concerned themselves with this matter; after all, upperclassmen have mastered the subject, their grades are “acceptable” and thus everything is fine.

Taking into account the fact that the responses to the initial questions gave no insight into the level of atheistic conviction in students, we were interested in finding out: “How do you and members of your family feel about religion?” “Negatively,” replied almost 82 percent of the upperclassmen. At the same time, quite a few students did not answer and dozens indicated that they cannot define their attitude toward religion.

There were also these types of replies to the questionnaires: “I believe a little, but why I don’t know.” Responses to the question “How do you feel about your contemporaries who demonstratively wear crosses and Stars of David?” also attest to serious miscalculations in the ideological-political and atheistic education of students. Half of those polled responded “negatively”; almost a fourth said that they don’t see anything wrong in this because “it’s in fashion” and “it’s attractive.” There were also these types of responses: “You think, a cross! Well, so what? There’s no law against wearing them!”

Fashion is a powerful force, but students are supposed to know that a person who has "adorned" himself with a cross or a six-sided Star of David forsakes the precepts of Soviet life even though he just wants to stand out among his contemporaries and show off to them. The foreign emblem, no matter what anyone might say to the contrary, drags the Soviet person into the mud of moral and ideological perfidy and into betrayal of the Fatherland. Then whose emblems are the red star and the hammer and sickle, our crest? Why hasn't anyone explained to these young "fashion hounds" that the small cross that they are wearing around their neck represents the large cross that burns with the flames of death and with which the Ku Klux Klan threatens civil rights advocates in the "black states" of America. Why is it that some students forget that the six-sided Star of David is responsible for bombing the Lebanese and the Palestinians, and that the crimes of the fascists were committed in the name of the cross, as are the appeals for a crusade against communism by the enemies of our Fatherland. And at this point it's very pertinent to recall the very critical thought of V.O. Sukhomlynsky that the school must not exist in an artificially contrived environment of ideological sterility. Adolescents are enveloped by a world seething with complexity and contradictions. Very often they find themselves at a crossroads of ideological influences and the task at hand is not to protect them from alien ideological influences but to maintain contact with them and to encourage their inquisitiveness in order to facilitate an independent analysis of life, phenomena and situations. However, not all schools work at arousing this inquisitiveness in students; in fact, not all schools care about instilling ideological conviction in their students, nor turning out steadfast advocates of our socialist ideals and our spiritual values.

Here, for example, is what 20 percent of those upperclassmen polled think. They are convinced that religion and religious attributes are not harmful to the social outlook or worldview of our youth. How did these students come to such conclusions? Is it a desire to express their "unconventional" thinking? Yet it seems to me that it is not worth it for students to flaunt themselves for this reason alone, for after all, we are not talking about some sort of fashion here, but about the principled ideological positions of a Soviet citizen. Thus, it turns out that boys and girls give voice to patriotic phrases and ideologically correct formulations in their lessons and at Komsomol meetings, but sometimes they express the exact opposite views in reality. Why is this so? Probably because there is no real sincerity or trust between the students and the teachers. During their years of study, many children forget how to tell the truth, and this applies especially when there is doubt in their minds about the wisdom or assertions of their elders. It's no secret that students who attempt to independently get to the root of things, or, for example, solve a problem in an original way and not in accordance with what is set down in the textbook, very often get bad marks from their teachers. This is to teach them not to

"act so smart." Sometimes the parents receive complaints about their restive child. Consequently, the child gets accustomed to telling the teachers one thing, but really believing another.

In a word, the results of our research yielded surprises for some pedagogical collectives and their party and Komsomol organizations. But really, what is so unexpected about the results? Is it possible that teachers themselves do not understand that the reason for all this is formalism in the educational work carried out in classes, as well as in extracurricular activities? Day after day teachers mouth the proper words in order to form a scientific worldview and communist conviction in their students, but very often they do not reach the hearts, minds or consciences of their students. This is why the student who completes school does not know what worldview, conviction or morals are. And this is why he so nonchalantly adorns himself with not only alien emblems, but with the emblems representative of our enemies: the cross, the Star of David, and depictions of the American eagle and the British lion—and swears that this has no influence on his conviction. It is our opinion that these boys and girls lack any sort of conviction whatsoever. The proof of this is that an upperclassman will pin on an emblem that represents ideals that are completely alien to us, instead of a Komsomol pin which represents the boy's or girl's membership in the vanguard of communist youth. Or a sports pin which represents physical maturity, as well as a preparedness to work for and defend the Fatherland. Another reason for this behavior is that we, the general education teachers, post-secondary school teachers, and teachers at other types of educational institutions very often ourselves do not pay attention to the "adornments" our charges sometimes wear so demonstratively. It is my opinion that this sort of indifference on the part of adults is a concession to the adversary's ideology, as well as indulgence toward the political immaturity of students. By the way, the uncertainty of students in their ideological convictions can also be attributed to the fact that in a certain portion of families—very often including those who are nonbelievers—religious holidays are observed, Easter bread is baked, eggs are colored, people exchange greetings on Easter day [kiss and greet each other with: "Christ is risen!" - "He is risen indeed!"], and infants are baptized. Students observe all this and very often participate themselves.

As is well known, the process of forming scientific-atheistic conviction in students is not restricted to the activities of the pedagogical collective. This process will only be effective with the united influence of the school, the family and society.

In the West these days there is a lot of talk about the "religious boom" of our times, the "renaissance of Christianity" in socialist countries, the religious "solidarity" of the Soviet nations in the historic past, and about celebrating the 1000-year anniversary of the christening of Kievan Rus. These events are being used as a basis for unleashing a vociferous anticommunist and

anti-Soviet campaign. Christianity is declaring itself to be the moving force in the history of the Ukrainian people, and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are clamouring about the "innate" religiousness of the Ukrainians, and so on. And how do our schools react to this? I think that it is time for many teachers to change their attitudes on the problem of atheistic education of students. As is quite evident, this is not a simple matter. Given the atmosphere of today's intensifying ideological antagonism, the school must become the surefire primary frontline defense in the ideological struggle. The school is imbued with all the necessary elements to fulfill this function.

Moscow Prepares for Impending Millennium Celebrations

18000279 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 88
p 4

[Article by R. Ignatev: "Moscow Will Be the Hub of Festivities"]

[Text] Plans for festivities commemorating the Millennium of the Acceptance of Christianity in Kievan Rus are nearing completion.

A meeting of the Millennium Commission of the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church was held on March 26 at the Danilov Monastery in Moscow in the Foreign Church Relations Department conference hall.

Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, opened the meeting. In his opening remarks, Patriarch Pimen noted that this meeting is one of the final meetings to be held in preparation for the upcoming millennium celebrations. Filaret, Metropolitan of Kiev and Galich and Patriarchal Exarch of the Ukraine gave a detailed report.

Our correspondent interviewed Metropolitan Filaret.

"Today we have gathered in the recently restored Danilov Monastery, which in the near future is to become one of the focal points for conducting millennium festivities," stated Metropolitan Filaret. "Preparations are being conducted successfully on all fronts. The principal work has been completed. Currently, programs for the entire celebration, as well as for the celebratory meeting of the Local Council to be held in the Troitsa-Sergievs-kaya Lavra, are being drawn up. On June 12, the day of the memorial service for all beatified Russian saints, a solemn service will be conducted at Danilov Monastery."

"Moscow will be the center of millennium festivities," continued the Metropolitan. "Opening ceremonies will be conducted here on June 5. We have asked the state to allow us to use USSR's Bolshoi Theater. We intend to hold a celebratory meeting there in honor of the coming Millennium of the Acceptance of Christianity in Kievan Rus. Taking part in the festivities will be members of the Local Council, foreign guests of honor and public officials. A concert of ancient and church music will be given that day. Ceremonies conclude on June 16 in Kiev, Vladimir and Leningrad. After this, ceremonies will be conducted in various diocese of the Russian Orthodox Church. Practically all preparations for the reception of guests have been finalized in those cities which will be participating in millennium celebrations. At the present time there are no problems which haven't been resolved."

In conclusion, Metropolitan Filaret stated that "a number of papers will be delivered at the celebratory meeting of the Local Council. The intention of these papers will be to illuminate the life and activities of the Russian Church in the course of 1000 years, the significance of Christianity in culture and in the Russian state, as well as in the ascent of morality."

Reasons for Gumilev's Death, Sons' Imprisonment Questioned

18000244 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 21 Feb 88 p 4

[Article by G. Pavlenko: "The Prisoner of Lake Chad: The Fate of N. Gumilev and His Sons"]

[Excerpts] Once in my youth a book fell into my hands. I opened it at random—the unexpected title of a poem struck me—"Giraffe."

This was Nikolay Gumilev, the leader of the "Acmeists," a poet about whom older comrades said in a severe voice: "He was shot for participating in a counterrevolutionary conspiracy."

A "samizdat" book of his poetry went through our students' hands, secretly passed from one to another. Gumilev was not published and only in special literary studies could one find out something about him and his poetry.

"He was shot for participating..."

But at the same time there was also a story that he was not exactly a participant but an accomplice, and supposedly even that Lenin, at Gorkiy's or Lunacharskiy's request, sent a telegram to Petrograd pardoning the poet, but it did not arrive in time.

One could only guess at what really happened, and gradually come to admire the music of his pictures in verse.

Two years ago people began to write about Gumilev more often. Ye. Yevtushenko—in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, V. Karpov—in OGONEK. And in the past year two altogether unexpected articles appeared. The poet's "African Diary," which was thought to be lost, first saw light in the 14th and 15th issues of OGONEK. I think it was interesting for Moldavian readers, critics, and students of literature to find out that it was published by N. Gumilev's youngest son—Orest Nikolayevich Vysotskiy, who lives in Kishinev.

After that a completely sensational report followed. In the 12th issue of the journal NOVYY MIR the former senior assistant to the USSR General Procurator G.A. Terekhov published a letter in which he reported that he had personally studied Gumilev's file. That it contains no information about the poet belonging to a counter-revolutionary organization. That he was shot for an act that in legal language is called "implication in a crime"—in other words, he did not report to the proper person on his schoolmate and front-line comrade who, to all appearances, really was a participant in the conspiracy.

Terekhov also reported that now, according to the RSFSR Criminal Code, "implication in a crime" is punishable by 1-3 years deprivation of freedom or up to 2 years of corrective labor.

It was also confirmed that Maksim Gorkiy requested that Gumilev be pardoned.

But Gumilev was shot.

That is how the life of Nikolay Gumilev ended. But his sons remained alive—the step brothers Lev and Orest (their mothers were Anna Andreyevna Akhmatova and Olga Nikolayevna Vysotskaya), as did his friends and comrades, and his poetry. And all of them faced a difficult fate.

Orest Nikolayevich Vysotskiy told us about this—his own fate and that of his mother and brother—at a meeting at the editorial office.

He talks readily and in detail, preserving even the smallest details in his memory:

"Olga Nikolayevna Vysotskaya, my mother, was an actress at the Petersburg Theater. My father and she met at the actors cafe 'Brodyachaya sobaka,' whose owner and moving spirit was Boris Pronin, our friend and a man very well known in literary and acting circles. My mother was a pupil of Meyerhold and was acquainted with Shklovskiy and Erenburg. In 1914 my grandmother bought a cottage in the country at Kurilovka in Kursk Oblast where my mother and I moved. We did not receive any information about my father until 1925 and knew only that he had gone abroad."

(Later, in clarifying the details of his father's biography, Orest Nikolayevich learned that Gumilev returned to the Homeland from London via Murmansk. And on this fact he constructed a version of his father's noninvolvement in the White conspiracy. "If he was an enemy of Soviet Power," says O. Vysotskiy, "he would have had to return via Novorossiysk—to the White Army, rather than via Murmansk, which was in the hands of the Reds").

Moreover, upon his return from abroad, N. Gumilev became actively involved in work "on the literary front." With the blessing of Maksim Gorkiy he worked on the editorial staff of VSEMIRNAYA LITERATURA and at Proletkult on assignment from A.V. Lunacharskiy.

Orest Nikolayevich formed his opinion on the reasons his father was subjected to repression from documents and recollections.

"At that time," he believes, "the word 'patriot' was taken as a synonym for 'monarchist.' The imperial war was seen as purely aggressive. And a person who did not publicly condemn it was therefore not a revolutionary. The slogan 'The proletariat has no homeland' was very popular in those years. All you young people do not

know. Why, even the word 'homeland'—for a long time people in this country tried not to use it. And when an ukase was issued in 1934 on responsibility for treason against the Homeland, the old members of the intelligentsia rejoiced: 'People have finally remembered that we have a Homeland.' But for my father the Homeland, Russia, was intertwined with the concepts of 'honor' and 'duty.' He was a Russian officer and could not help being proud of the victories of Russian arms. And only very evil tongues could create the myth that he wrote the remarkable poem 'Victory' in the ranks of the Kolchakov army. No, it was written at the front in the first imperialist war when my father fought against the German troops, and this is confirmed in his 'Notes of a Cavalryman.'"

Here are those lines which are interpreted in such different ways.

"There are several rumored versions of why my innocent father was arrested and shot with such haste," O.N. Vysotskiy tells.

"According to one of them, the Leningrad leader at that time gave the order to shoot him. According to another, it was revenge by a man who at that time worked in the Cheka. But I personally believe that the times played a fatal role in the destiny of my father and in my future destiny (as well as the fates of A. Akhmatova and her son L. Gumilev, our well-known historian). The times were harsh and uncompromising."

In 1936 Orest Nikolayevich became acquainted with his brother and his mother, and in 1938 O. Vysotskiy and L. Gumilev were arrested. Olga Nikolayevna and Anna Andreyevna stood together in line to send their sons money.

This is evidenced by the piercing lines of Akhmatova's "Requiem," a poem which we also got to know quite recently (it was published in the June issue of the journal NEVA last year).

"In prison," Orest Nikolayevich says, "prominent revolutionaries were in the same cell with me. For example, Smolnyy commandant Petr Vasilyevich Dashkevich—he was the elected head of our cell. At that time what did we think about what was happening? What can a man think if he sees the black Maria's driving through the city and taking people away by the hundreds, not just at night but in the daytime too. Before we ended up in prison we thought that a fight against the enemies of the people was going on. After we ourselves were imprisoned we thought that it was a coup d'etat. Initially I was accused of making preparations for a terrorist act against the members of the government. When we were already in the cell we began to discuss where such an absurd accusation had come from. One of my group—and they took eight of us students from the Lesnaya Academy—confessed:

"'During the interrogation I said that as a joke,' he explained, 'and they picked it up.' The comrade's unsuccessful joke, however, came out well for us. Cases of 'terrorist acts' had to be heard by a military tribunal. But after studying the documents, they said: 'We cannot try them. We need outside witnesses, not from neighboring cells such as you have.' So our case was reclassified. They brought in 'group counterrevolutionary agitation.' Later the court acquitted me. Then, in 1950, despite the fact that he had been at the front, my brother Lev Nikolayevich was put in prison again, for 8 years. But God spared me."

Orest Nikolayevich also fought. He served in a guards mortar regiment. Incidentally, he was involved in the liberation of Moldavia too—he fought near Kochiyery on the Dnestr. He finished the war in Pardubica near Prague. He received two medals, one of them "For Bravery." Twice he was put up for orders but was crossed off. Obviously the trail of his past reached him even in the army.

Then he worked in Mukanevo in a logging enterprise. It was there that the genes of his father's courage proved especially useful to him. I do not think there is any need to explain what our Transcarpathian region was like right after the war. The director of the logging enterprise traveled around in a two-wheeled cart with a submachine gun and a couple of grenades. The Bandery guerillas even organized a hunt for him, but they did not find him and killed two guards.

He worked in Kareliya and in Siberia and at a mature age moved to Tiraspol and then, after defending his dissertation, became a docent at the Kishinev Polytechnical Institute and after that—at Kishinev State University. In economic science he holds his own views. He says: "The market economy which people are now writing so much about is of course necessary. But we cannot forget that our goals are not only to fill our bellies." And he also adds, chuckling good-naturedly: "Now we are simply a little hungry. But when we are full, then I think views on the market will change."

And in addition he is an ardent advocate of his father's poetry. He is prepared to talk about it for hours.

"My father loved life a great deal and he loved heroism in all its manifestations."

Not everything has yet been said about Gumilev. People say that a manuscript of the second part of "African Diary" has been found somewhere in Moscow. The memoirs and a family chronicle written by Gumilev's stepsister Aleksandra Stepanovna Sverchkova await their time—for publication in the journal NASHE NASLEDIYE. And then Anatoliy Abramovich Agranovskiy when he was in Kishinev told the author of these lines that there is a woman somewhere in Moscow who is keeping a large number of unpublished verses and letters by the poet.

Not everything has yet been said about Gumilev. Far from everyone is familiar with his poetic palette, which is full of such fanciful colors. He remains forever the highest kind of romantic and a prisoner of the mysterious Lake Chad. In his manifesto, which substantiates the appearance of Acmeism, he wrote: "All the beauty and all the sacred significance of the stars is that they are infinitely far from earth and no successes in aviation will make them any closer."

He wrote poetry about the planet Venus, which seems to anticipate mankind's move into space. He would have sung of Gagarin, which, by the way, none of today's living poets have managed to do properly. Poet and warrior, "conquistador in a coat of mail," and owner of a "magic violin," he returns to us today as Akhmatova, Tsvetayeva, Mandelshtam, and Pasternak have returned to us—all those in whom the "golden heart of Russia" beats.

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Educator Advocates Study of the Ukrainian Language

18110048 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
10 Jan 88 p 1

[Article by O. Hlazova, teacher and methodology specialist, High School No 212, Kiev: "I don't take..."]

[Excerpts] I enter this classroom for the first time. From now on I am to teach the Ukrainian language. Every teacher knows that unique moment, when the diligent eyes of students are focused on you, when interest shines through and a silent question appears in them: "What have you brought us?" And I want to reply immediately:

—I bring you your native language!

And the language echoes in the classroom, and the children learn it quickly.... But who is that slumping behind the last desk, who is hiding his guilty eyes?

—Aren't you interested?—I ask the boy quietly?

—I am not taking....

What can one say to that student? By the way, there are always several students like that in each classroom. But, what do they have actually to do with it? It is the parents who should be asked: why do they deny their children the happiness of enjoying the beautiful, rejuvenating treasures of the native language? Obviously, I don't mean the military personnel, who quite often, together with their children, are forced to change their residences and move from one republic to another. I am talking about my compatriots, who often ask the school principal to exempt their daughter or son from taking the Ukrainian language. And do you know why? I am quite certain that the main motive is the hypertrophied, unwise, and blind love that the parents have for their children, wishing to

free them, wherever possible, from any physical or mental exertion. For example, if it were decreed that any foreign language, mathematics, physics, chemistry, zoology, or any other subject is also not a compulsory subject for students, I am certain, that there would be fathers and mothers who enthusiastically would ask teachers not to burden their children with "superfluous" school disciplines. They probably think that the fewer subjects a student has in his school program, the more chances the student would have in receiving high grades on their diploma. This also would mean better chances for acceptance into college or technical school. Even though today the ill-famed average grade does not have any meaning for a graduate, nevertheless some parents subconsciously still would rather exempt their children from "unnecessary" (in their opinion) school subjects of a general educational nature—particularly exempting them from studying the Ukrainian language.

In the meantime, some ill-wishers, both in our country and beyond the borders use such statistics and make "far-reaching" conclusions about "the Russification" of schools in Ukraine, about some "closing down" study of the native language, etc. Is there any need to correct such nonsense to which some people desire to give "political coloring?" The fact that in our republic, especially in large industrial cities with people of numerous nationalities, occasionally there are quite realistic complications in signing up children to study the Ukrainian language, which is a pedagogical and moral issue. I think that the problem lies in this: how to improve the teachers' work with their students, how to make their contacts with the students' parents more effective and warmer, and how to convince them of the need to involve our youth by various means in the cultural and spiritual life of our people.

And so in my class I hear from a student: "I'm not taking..." Well, so we'll have a talk, and I hope to change his mind. Now, my ears hurt when I hear the unrecognizable words, phrases, or poorly constructed sentences of those who study "my" subject.

—Who taught you to speak like that? Where did you hear that?

—Everywhere (they reply in Russian)....

... I look at the classroom and suggest that little Vitalyy write the following on the board: "To use a mutilated language is similar to playing... on a broken violin."

... Without the respect, without the love on one's own language, there cannot be any well-rounded human upbringing nor any spiritual culture.

... Spirituality.... Without it there cannot be any true upbringing. I think that our school crisis is due to a lack of spirituality. We should be placing spirituality, our soul's own intelligence, as the opposite to that disgusting

school authoritarianism. And just what kind of spirituality can one develop without the knowledge of one's own language, without knowing one's own national literature and national culture?

In the meantime in each classroom two or three students sit bored, not knowing what to do, because due to their parents' wishes they are not taking their language. It is painful and distressing to look at these children. It is embarrassing, because their parents unwisely "unload" courses off their children. When they will grow up, adults will wonder why they are so uncaring in reference to culture, to everything beautiful that surrounds us. Why their souls have so little goodness, light, and generosity? But where can such young people develop these qualities, when as children, they were kept away from the sources of spirituality. And one of these sources is one's own native language.

For quite a while schools were criticised quite justly for the authoritarianism of the educational-developmental process. Today it is passing. Today children are wise, observant, and well informed. Today they do not want to accept passively whatever the teacher or the textbook providers. There are many things which students do not wish to accept just on authority, but rather desire to grasp by means of their own intellect. And still (and here is the paradox)—they can't and don't want to read. This is a serious problem for a teacher.

... And how I wish that the students' parents were sitting here, and would hear and see this, and take it in with their minds and hearts. So that they would not deny their children the happiness to be able to communicate with the poetry of Franko, Shevchenko, Lesya Ukrayinka....

We should not be afraid of "overloading" our children. The spiritual vacuum in their hearts would be much worse. And one wishes to tell the parents: "Do not talk your children out of participating in a school drama club. Even if the stage is not fated to be their profession (for some reason today we have more "physics" than "lyricists"), in the child's soul-encourage that spark, that love for creative arts and the spoken word. It will radiate around them with the undying flame of spirituality. And when you do find a hidden piece of paper with some awkward verses—don't make fun of them. Perhaps that is why poetry is extinguished in the young souls, since it is afraid of our skepticism? On a Sunday afternoon, why not read aloud with the whole family, a nice book? And without any skepticism—why not look at a school anthology! Despite what some may think, certainly not all the works from the school program are dull. Why not take your son or daughter on an excursion and with your soul try to touch cultural relics of our nation. Why not consider: "Does my child understand art? (And I, myself?) Does my child hear our native song, which sounds so beautifully exciting, and does not thunder over our souls with decibels?"

One should get a feeling for one's own native country and native language—first of all from one's own mother and father, from one's own family. However, schools too, were never exempted from infusing children with these lofty feelings.

Recently I went to Chernigov with my students. We were astonished to find that for some reason the M. Kotsyubynskyy Museum was withdrawn from the list of required visiting points. Why should visitors to the city need to make special arrangements to see the museum, as if it were something "outside the program?" Why was the museum of I. Franko also taken off the list for school trips going to Lvov? I wouldn't think of suggesting that someone did this on purpose. However, I am quite certain that this is due to some cultural and educational activists' shortsightedness and lack of understanding. Why is it also that until now language teachers have found it hard even to get visual aids for their classes? Is it so hard to print the necessary number of grammatical tables and illustrations for works which are studied at school?

Why should a teacher have to create necessary visual aids for the classroom himself—and thus (with his poor skills) risk badly effecting a child's taste? After all, each thing should be made by a specialist, especially in school, where even each portrait and each table has an educational value.

Our language teachers are not lazy, nor are they incapable people or reactionaries against progress. However, the respect of a teacher and a school is made up of many components.... So please support language teachers!

Directors of public education, artists, excursion guides—please support language teachers. Parents—please support them too. So that we wouldn't have to hear from the end seat a guilty comment:

—I am not taking....

12868/12232

'Duplicity' of Brezhnev, Chernenko Era Focus of TV Film

Naivete, Cynicism Mark Generational Clash
18000246a Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 17 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Igor Sidorov under the "Point of View" rubric: "The Nation's Heritage"]

[Text] *Zapomnite Menya Takoy* [Remember Me Thus] was shown on TV recently as if it were an ordinary film. But we should look upon it as a reflection of ourselves.

...The radio announcer informs in a hearty voice that Chernenko has met with so-and-so and said something of importance. Two families, several people, connected by

bonds of past and present kinship (a former wife, a new wife, a natural daughter, an adopted daughter...) are gathering at the home of the mother of the main hero, in Leningrad. And in the background, conversations about some kind of unsigned documents, and the apprehension of these people of their forthcoming meeting.

An old woman with a severe countenance awaits them. "She's a little off, you see," they say of her.

They are afraid of that severity. No. That would be too simple: Each of the heroes is sufficiently cunning and resourceful to fool the old lady. But they are ready to flee from their mother's room, where portraits of Kirov and Ordzhonikidze hang on the walls, when she suggests that they "have a talk about important things." And she sets about to ask questions—direct and naive questions.

Yes, she is undoubtedly naive, a daughter of her times, and almost ready to believe that Siberia right now is "heaped with sausage and flooded with kefir." And it is only when her great-grandson blurts out an absurd statement about "pheasants which fly in from China" that she understands: they're lying to her. All of them. Even the son whom she brought up to be totally honest. She questions him in words which to those sitting around the table sound worn and old-fashioned: "After all, my son, you are an Internationalist!" And they feel uncomfortable.

They are ashamed of what has taken place! They are ashamed of their mother's fervent belief that the struggle was not for naught, that the world has become that which they dreamed of in the 1920's. These thoroughly modern people know full well that the world is not like it is described in their schoolbooks.

They try to point out that their mother's own generation is to blame. They could have said a great deal about the Administrative System, about 1937, and 1947 when their mother's husband disappeared into the camps. But they don't say it—because they themselves have nothing to brag about; they themselves have become involved in lies and filth. And they know it.

I watched the film and I thought: But you see, that's about us. Energetic, modern people, who have long understood that schoolbooks are one thing, and life is something altogether different. And what's more, we have become accustomed to that and find in it a certain kind of comfort. This is we, who laughed up our sleeves among our close friends about the duplicity of Brezhnev and Chernenko; we, who spoke such lofty words at party meetings. I am not so naive that I would today ask the rhetorical question: Comrades, why didn't anyone raise his voice then? That was an altogether unique epoch with its own principles of behavior, with its prohibitions, which only a few individuals were able to transcend; but you see what is so staggering, is that even today many of

us believe that there was some meaning to all that duplicity. "Yes," they say, "it was unpleasant; but on the other hand there was total unity and no excesses whatsoever..."

It's all lies and filth, and Mother looks at her children with horror. But after a few moments she goes into the bedroom for our inheritance, of which there was so much talk ("But will there be enough for a motorcycle for me?" asks the great-grandson...). She places a box on the table; in it is a ration of brick-hard Blockade bread.

She soaks the bread, breaks it, and gives it to her children—like the Eucharist. And she says that she is giving them to the nation as her legacy.

If this scene had been in another film, taken at another level of truth, I would not have believed in it. I would have taken this finale as just another portion of sweet-sop, which has so often been stuffed down our throats, that we have already begun to forget that which is most sacred.

But I did not speak of the Eucharist lightly. This is a natural act for an old woman, who has suddenly felt a threat to everything in which she had believed—to attempt even thus to pass on to her children something of her own sacred faith.

There they sit before their mother—the just and the unjust, who have become caught up in lies and fervently desire the truth. And Mother has no other sons and daughters to leave her bread ration to. There is no one else to bequeath to the country—only them.

I watch what is taking place on the TV screen as from another time, when we were far less hesitant to ask direct questions. But you see, we are those very same people who not so long ago resorted to compromises, were afraid, and agreed, that "that's not the proper way." Where has the weight of that burden gone? Some still carry it; but others have shaken it off and have squared their shoulders. We must square our shoulders too, I think. We, all of us, are the only sons and daughters of our country, and it has no other hopes, but for us. And that—is our sole heritage.

Reader Protests, Reviewer Reaffirms Criticism
18000246b Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 21 Feb 88 p 3

[Article by Igor Sidorov under the "Dialog with Readers" rubric: "Irony through the Tears"]

[Text] "Esteemed Editors!"

A review by I. Sidorov of the film "Zapomnite Menya Takoy" was printed under the "Point of View" rubric in your issue of 17 January 1988. While in general agreement with the position of the author of the article, I cannot help but speak of the following.

We can and must speak of the shortcomings of the period of stagnation with the goal of rooting them out and not repeating them in the future. However, while doing that why is it necessary, for example, to speak with irony of the physical shortcomings of our previous leaders? The author of the article found it possible to laugh up his sleeve among his close friends "over the duplicity of Brezhnev and Chernenko," and to speak "lofty words" at party assemblies. Explaining his behavior, he cites the fact that that, allegedly, was a "unique epoch."

I do not believe that truly responsible people could behave in such a manner. One must be simply and basically principled and objective in order to always speak the truth and honestly go about one's business. I know quite a few people who even in that "unique epoch" conducted themselves just so. For that epoch was different from the previous one, if only in the fact that one was not shot or put into prison for telling the truth.

Sooner or later life's journey comes to an end for any leader. And it seems to me that people such as the author of the aforementioned article will be writing just like that, that in their own time they "laughed up their sleeves among their close friends" over the physical shortcomings of people, or over the present failures along the path to development of our country—which no one can be insured against.

I believe that criticism published in the press should always be constructive and very objective and should never sink to the level of thinking of the Philistines.

Respectfully,

V. Kalmykov"

Esteemed Comrade V. Kalmykov!

Thank you for your attention to our publication and for your frankness. I am glad that you are in general agreement with my point of view. But then as far as our differences are concerned, permit me to disagree with you and to express my own opinion just as frankly.

I will begin with a certain clarification. The article which I wrote for the newspaper was not at all about my own behavior in the epoch which is commonly called "stagnant." It never occurred to me to make myself the hero of the article. And I cannot understand what gives you the basis for understanding the text in just that way.

The point is that duplicity was a norm of life in the time of stagnation for many, many people—and the film speaks of this sharply and convincingly. You will recall the following episode from it, in which the granddaughter of the principal heroine—apparently the secretary of a party organization—does not wish to endorse a character reference for a certain person for "going abroad," saying that she is not certain whether or not he will behave himself there as "befits a Soviet citizen..." And

then it becomes clear that she simply wants to arrange for an acquaintance of hers to take the trip, so that he could "acquire" some home appliances!

It was merely an episode. But it is also a generalization by the film's producers, and an example of the dual nature which people possess. You will recall the "Brezhnev" jokes, which popped up nearly every day, and you will recall the party assemblies at which they discussed the books "Malaya Zemlya", "Vozrozhdeniye", and "Tselina" and of course, with "unanimous approval and support..." Have you really forgotten already your friends' reaction to handing out medals for the anniversary; have you really forgotten the incessant ringing of victory bells on TV and radio? And do you really suppose that everyone who attended these assemblies, and everyone who was "attested" for "displaying initiative," that all these were dishonorable people?

Yes, there were numerous people who even then honestly carried out their duties, and held to their own opinions. And it was very hard for them. "The initiative of the condemned": this paradoxical but very vital formula came to us from then, from the time of the stagnation. Moreover, it is naive to suppose that, as compared with the time of Stalin, one could freely express oneself. Yes, one was not shot for that and one was not put into prison. But have the numerous articles published about people who were subjected to genuine persecution for not accepting those very same "shortcomings" of which you write, really escaped your attention? Where people were hounded from their jobs, abused, and driven to heart attacks.

No, forgive me, not everything here is quite as simple as you put it. And I can in no way agree that the stagnation was characterized merely by certain "shortcomings." But do you not find the wounds of the epoch of stagnation terrible—the indifference, the disappointment, and the lack of faith in the possibility of change? In my opinion the main thing that hinders perestroika today is—not the obsolescence of equipment and technology, but the deeply-rooted reluctance to change anything, and fear of and refusal to accept what is new.

Now they often say, "Yes, yes our leaders are carrying out a revolutionary policy, but you see the 'middle stratum,'" they say, "the local administrators, frequently hold back the cause..." But in the course of that very same economic reform, does not the phenomenon of the "little person" appear as well, the person for whom 150 rubles a month is enough, if only he does not have to work harder? Do they really not say in some collectives that this economic accountability doesn't do anyone any good—before, even if the wages weren't "as high as the ceiling," at least they were guaranteed; and now no one knows whether we'll get "five and twenty," or what..."

There they are, the traces of stagnation. There they are, the real brakes which that epoch was capable of applying, and which we today are trying to smash, with such hard work and anguish. No, these are not "shortcomings." This is more serious, more profound.

As far as evaluation of the leaders is concerned... An epoch is an epoch, and people are people; and it is not a matter of their "physical shortcomings." People now think of Kosygin with respect; history puts everyone into his own place. If a person truly works for our collective good, if his anguish is our anguish—then he will always occupy a place of honor in the people's memory.

Respectfully,

I. Sidorov

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Ukrainian Film Union Plenum Views Reform Shortcomings

18000273 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian on 20 February 1988 carries on page 5 a 600-word report by the paper's correspondent O. Gusev on a plenum held by the leadership of the UkSSR Filmmakers Union. M. Belikov, first secretary of the union, spoke of the obstacles to restructuring the Ukrainian film industry, namely: "the slow pace of renewal of artistic thinking, group biases, the subjectivity of assessments, ambitiousness....The old walls turned out to be stronger than we thought....Far from everything is going well....The film 'And So We Live' by V. Oseledchik was released only after the USSR Filmmakers Union intervened, and the documentary 'Lessons of Truth' is still not in circulation after a whole year." Restructuring at the A. Dovzhenko film studio in Kiev got off to a good start, but the "entire administrative-production system...with its excessively inflated staffs has remained inviolable." Director O. Fialko from Kiev noted that a "dangerous tendency has been revealed: we are obliged to shoot films based only on Ukrainian works, with Ukrainian actors, in the Ukrainian language. The idea that national traits and values can mature only in separation from other cultures is incorrect."

Soviet Culture Fund 1987 Financial Data Reported

18000290 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 20 Feb 88 p 4

[Text] The board of the Soviet Culture Fund [SCF] reported to the public on its financial resources received in 1987 and on their use.

By 1 January 1988, R15.122 million was brought into SCF account No 702, of which R11.562 million was from constituent organizations of the Fund, and R3.145 million came from citizens' donations.

The largest sum of specially-earmarked funds was brought in for the building of the monument to Vasilii Terkin—R241,000. Resources are being allocated for a monument to Marshal G.K. Zhukov, for the creation of a national park in Vyazemy-Zakharov, where Pushkin spent his childhood years, and for the V. Vysotskiy museum. Proceeds from charity concerts were designated for the creation of an exhibit and concert hall in the former Great Ascension church at the Nikitskiy Gates in Moscow.

Of the resources that came in last year from voluntary contributions, R60,000 were spent. Of this amount, R20,000 went to clean up the effects of the hurricane in Pushkinogorye; R10,000 went to the creation of the Museum of the History of the Irkutsk Russian Social Democratic Workers Party; R15,000 were given to the V.I. Lenin Museum in Ulyanovsk for the acquisition of rare books, publications of Lenin's works issued in his lifetime; and R15,000 was spent on restoration work on the F.I. Shalyapin house in Moscow.

Specialists have assessed the value of gifts to the Fund from Soviet and foreign citizens at approximately R3 million.

The SCF account in the Vneshekonombank [Bank of Foreign Economic Activity] amounts to 125,000 foreign currency rubles. In addition, the Sofia bank holds 100,000 Bulgarian leva, donated to the "13 Centuries of Bulgaria." Expenditures of foreign currency resources received as gifts were not made.

Salaries for Fund workers in 1987 amounted to R331,000. Income from productive work by subdivisions of the Soviet Culture Fund amounted to R415,000. Not one ruble of the resources that came in as voluntary donations was spent or is intended to be spent on supporting the apparatus of the Fund.

Official Attempts to Curb Self-Expression Threaten Glasnost

18000256 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in
Russian 1 Mar 88 p 2

[Article by G. Sapronov: People on the Square: Who Are They—'Instigators and Extremists' or the Real Force of Restructuring?"]

[Text] "On 9 January 1988 an attack was made on me. At noon militia officials came up to me on the street and asked: 'What are you carrying?' I showed a plywood board on which was written 'Glasnost—the Weapon of Restructuring!' Without introducing themselves and without asking my name and explaining the reasons, the militia officials said that I was detained, twisted my arm behind me, and tried to push me into the militia van. As a man who does not consider himself guilty, I became angry and tried to resist crude force. Then a militia colonel came up (I found out later he was the deputy chief of the oblast UVD Yu.A. Kostenev) and politely asked me to get into the car. I was brought to the Kirovskiy Rayon militia department where a report was drawn up saying that I was had "violated" public order by going out onto the street with a banner that said 'Glasnost—the Weapon of Restructuring!'

[signed by] "Candidate of Chemical Sciences V. Modonov."

In addition to Viktor, three of his comrades were also detained: A. Kostovskiy, F. Oznobikhin, and A. Sosunov. All of them are participants in the public movement to protect Lake Baykal. They were carrying banners too, but in addition a stand which would later be taken from them at the militia department—that was the real reason they were detained. On the same day they had gone to the Irkutsk central market square where almost every Saturday a "Baykal defense post" had already been in operation for several months. Here, in one of the most populous places of the city, activists of the ecology movement, including scientists, writers, students, white-collar workers, and veterans of war and labor, set up stands with information about delay in solving crucial questions which disturb Irkutsk citizens today, questions such as stopping work on building a water line to transfer waste water from the Baykal Pulp and Paper Plant to the Irkut River and abandoning altogether this destructive project which threatens irreversible ecological consequences.

The situation which has taken shape in connection with the decision made in April of last year to discharge waste water from the Baykal Pulp and Paper Plant into the Irkut River, the opinion of scientists on this, and the position of local party and soviet organs have already been written of in the press many times. Our newspaper has also told of this. And so after weighing the pros and cons as well as taking into account public opinion, the

governmental commission set up agreed with the arguments of the Irkutsk scientists and the Siberian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences and drew the conclusion that building the water line was not advisable.

It would seem that common sense gained a victory. But it is customary to rejoice over a victory, and the ecology movement activists were somehow not in the mood for rejoicing—many of them in their hearts were bitterly disappointed. And how could it be otherwise? On the one hand, they consider themselves part of the "broad strata of the concerned public," and on the other—the official authorities arrive at the directly opposite definition for them: "various kinds of demagogues," a "group of so-called 'defenders,'" and "extremist-minded people" who "under the specious excuse of defending Lake Baykal and playing on the good feelings of the residents of the Angara Region commit lawless acts and engage in instigating trouble."

But why are the official organs displeased with a public movement of Irkutsk residents to protect their own natural world, a movement called to life by the times themselves and which is democratic in essence and at bottom a genuine public movement?

Why have so many different kinds of amateur associations appeared in our country recently? Is it really only because today for the first time we perhaps have the opportunity in a truly democratic and open way to express our ideas and desires and act on behalf of the general good as we see it? I think it is not just for that reason.

Let us turn more attention to the fact that the names of many amateur societies begin with the words "defense" or "struggle." Today there are so many different associations and clubs to protect some particular corner of the natural world or disappearing architectural monuments, and against the erosion of traditions, culture, and other accumulated defects of ours.

Let us also think about why many people come to grief in their noble impulses. And why the activity of some has sunk into oblivion altogether. There are various reasons. But it is indisputable that some of them join together mainly to help a common cause, to correct someone's mistakes or omissions, and to do their part. But others, as in previous times, with a gag in their hands merely wait for a chance to use it on the cause. That is why they still cannot rid themselves of the antiquated custom of thinking that goals are always undoubtedly clear and must be accepted in readiness for joyful obedience. And certainly they would never dare to contradict a certain higher, from-the-beginning-and-forever infallible will.

Was it not against this stereotype that the city authorities of Irkutsk acted when on 20 June of last year the "Baykal defense post" first appeared on the train station square? That day hundreds of people openly signed the appeal in defense of Lake Baykal and the Irkut River, but the city

leadership just as openly tried to curtail this "subversive" activity of working people. But certainly these were also signatures in defense of the authority of a party and state document in which alongside the comprehensively considered and all-encompassing measures for the good of Lake Baykal, however, there was a not-quite-thought-out and not completely weighed decision, as we now see.

And here the people whose advice on a vitally important question they forgot to seek, people who are now called upon to be principled, "squeeze every last drop of slave out of themselves," and be masters of the situation, have suddenly become "extremists," "instigators," and demagogues."

But I think something else disturbed the authorities most of all—how not to come under suspicion of party and state lack of discipline themselves or, even worse, to receive a dressing down for attempting "revision" of an important decision if "local control deteriorates." Yes, we all lived through the recent past, and this timidity is understandable. But not to such an extent as to arrange persecution for an honorable sincere position!

Attempts were made to dismiss N. Voronina, a youth newspaper associate, from her job. For the same purpose pressure was put on the state inspector of the Baykal Basin Administration M.N. Khamarkhanova. The assignment was given to look into the personal affairs of Irkutsk Agricultural Institute student P. Gorbunov and his classmates who participated in gathering signatures. Militia Lieutenant A. Mezhenikov was warned by a higher-ranking official to mete out punishment directly at the train station square. Several workers in one of the enterprises even received party penalties. The managers of many enterprises and the secretaries of party and Komsomol committees were warned of their personal accountability if "papers of a questionable sort" were distributed in their organizations.

But by what right was all this arranged? No right at all. At best, by the unwritten crude ideology of that bureaucratic reflex: "grab and don't let go." And what is more, from the fear of any unauthorized initiative, any democratic expression of the people's will, even if spontaneous.

At the same time as local mass information media were promising that not one meter of pipe would be laid without strict and comprehensive ecological expert examination, technocrats nonetheless began to build the pipeline behind people's backs, flagrantly violating many nature conservation laws. Soon, it is true, the work was suspended by decision of the party obkom, but a cut 15 kilometers long had already been made along the Baykal shore. And pipe and the equipment needed to lay it continued to arrive at the construction site.

And then a rally was held in Irkutsk, on Constitution Square. The people participating in it marched through the central streets of the city with banners and slogans calling for the construction of the water line to be canceled once and for all.

And once again there was the same response. Announcements of the forthcoming event were torn down (movement activists were even forced to guard them) and in schools and VUZes energetic "preventive work" was carried on—pupils and students were warned of their accountability if any of them visited the rally. After the rally and march zealous administrators tried to trace the "disobedient ones" using photographs taken and an article entitled "After the Rally," written by the deputy chairman of the Irkutsk Gorispolkom Yu. Koshkin, appeared in the oblast newspaper. The article stated "that if such actions are repeated, the initiators of holding the rally and march 'will be brought to strict administrative responsibility.'"

We are learning democracy and glasnost. We are learning together. Everyone is equal before Time. But now for some reason some people, as before, just have to take over and indulgently explain to others: here we can have glasnost, and here semiglasnost, and here it can only be one-quarter glasnost. And in some places—do not dare poke your nose at all.

And so, as in past times, movement activists fall under suspicion of moral and ideological unreliability. And people who are not indifferent to the fate of their own natural world and openly and honestly express their viewpoint are considered extremists and instigators. And the phrase "They look like enemies to me?!" is on the lips of certain people who keep their heads down. So in Koshkin's article the shroud of anti-Sovietism is blatantly thrown over the activists: they were accused of distorting our history using a distortion of the true meaning of the concluding words of A. Sosunov, one of the organizers of the march.

No society to protect Lake Baykal has been formed on the basis of the public movement yet. But it was certainly intended to carry out active nature conservation work and help scientists, party and soviet workers, and economic managers in the work to preserve the Baykal. It was suggested that a Baykal aid fund also be set up. But all this did not happen only because people are not sure that they will not be slapped down later. After all, even after that illegal detention and trip to the militia there was no apology whatsoever.

Some simply have not gotten rid of suspicions, and in the souls of others distrust has taken root even more strongly. And this is distrust on by no means a local scale. And that, perhaps, is the saddest lesson of this still incomplete story. That is why even today, when the question of abandoning construction of the ill-fated pipeline is practically resolved, they continue to come out on the square every Saturday.

Medical Official Discusses Forced Hospitalization of Mental Patients

18300152 Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian
No 1,ba Jan 88 pp 49-51

[Interview with USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member and Deputy Director of the All-Union Center for Mental Health Marat Vartanyan by correspondent Mikhail Svetlichnyy: "Psychiatry Demands a High Degree of Professionalism and Propriety"; date of interview not given]

[Text] The human brain is a whole universe of unresolved mysteries. Not only upward surges of thought on the highest level and breakthroughs to the unknown, but also into the depths of the unknowable. The burdens and upheavals of our computerized and urbanized world has fallen to the lot of humankind. Stress, which has become the scourge of the 20th century, not only wrings the life out of people of weak heart but also has been causing an enormous number of mental disorders. What is the role of psychiatry under these circumstances? There have been recent articles in our press which have raised anew questions concerning the legal and ethical aspects of psychiatric treatment. After many years of silence, an elucidation of this topic has finally come to light. Offering his thoughts on this subject is M. Vartanyan in an interview with the journalist Mikhail Svetlichnyy.

[Vartanyan] I can give you my personal viewpoint: Articles on problems associated with psychiatry demand a very high level of professionalism on the part of the authors. But yet there are some journalists who undertake a discussion of problems that are still unclear to scientists. For example, a correspondent writes that schizophrenia is not a disease, but a means of existence. I must protest against that kind of thinking. This is a most complex theoretical problem in learning about the brain and human behavior. With one violent swipe of the hand the journalist, in essence, accuses psychiatrists of not knowing how to do anything. It is not the fault of Soviet psychiatrists that we are still weak in our field. This is related to the general level of worldwide psychiatry. To speak half-truths in these matters is worse than lying.

[Question] Now that we have the opportunity to speak about many acute problems that were not raised before, don't you think that a contradiction of sorts arises? As you know, before we viewed psychiatric problems as a rather "calm" area and attempted to beat off assaults from the West in every way we could, but now it turns out that not everything in our own country is so favorable...

[Vartanyan] You apparently did not correctly understand me. We have plenty of problems and no one is avoiding them. We are trying to resolve them. Let's take compulsory hospitalization, for example. That is a very

delicate problem and one that is far from being resolved. No one is reconciled to that situation and no one thinks that things are coming along brilliantly. We never believed that everything in our country was perfectly normal.

[Question] But surely it is generally known that for one reason or another one did not write about such things before...

[Vartanyan] Now that is not our fault. The author of one of the publications correctly indicated that this had been a taboo subject. That is all the more reason for us to treat the subject now with greater caution and propriety. What is the current most acute problem regarding compulsory hospitalization? It all depends on what kind of a model we use — a legal or medical one. The legal model is based on the premise that everything should be decided by the court. For example, that kind of model exists in the USA. There the judge, in consultation with psychiatrists whose expert opinion he solicits, makes the determination. The last word, however, is left to the judge, and not to the medical profession. It therefore follows that before a physician can hospitalize a patient he is obligated to send the patient to court. The judge must then gather a board to review the case. Then, if the legal procedure is strictly observed, an attorney has the right to appeal the court's decision. Until such time as this appeal is reviewed, the physician again cannot do anything.

In this way, the resolution of a case can drag on for several days and even weeks. If the patient is in an acute state, the case should be decided immediately. This should be done within hours if not minutes. Otherwise the patient can do to himself anything he wants. We have had quite a few such cases. We have postponed hospitalization out of humanitarian considerations, and on the next day we found that the patient either hanged himself or took an overdose of drugs. What is one to do in such a situation? How is the physician supposed to feel in such outcomes? And there are thousands of such cases. Here, you allow the patient to stay home out of humanitarian considerations and he ends up killing his whole family. It is practically impossible to predict his behavior. And there you have the flaw in the legal model.

The medical model, on the other hand, is based on purely medical indications. Only a psychiatrist can decide whether or not a patient needs to be hospitalized or whether or not the patient is dangerous to society. But it is important to determine where the limits are. What are the criteria that allow a psychiatrist to institutionalize a patient? Of course, we are under pressure. We often have a situation where an official phones us and pleads: "Comrades, save me! I find it impossible to work!" Or we may get a call from the raykom: "He has already written hundreds of letters and is distracting the entire apparatus. He doesn't let us work." There are many problems here that require serious examination.

[Question] From what you are saying, it follows that neither of the "models" as you have called them, is ideal. Do you believe that the existing standards need some kind of modification in order to provide a patient with additional guarantees against unlawful acts?

[Vartanyan] The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Government and Law is now seriously examining the legal aspect of this problem. This kind of work is also being undertaken at the Institute imeni Serbskiy.

[Question] One of the pressing problems of contemporary psychiatry is that of the concept of slow progressive schizophrenia. The diagnosis of that condition seems to be very vague. What is the attitude of Soviet psychiatrists toward this problem?

[Vartanyan] The concept of slow progressive schizophrenia first appeared in the USA. The first such so-called pseudoneurotic or slow progressive forms were described by the American psychiatrists Palatin and Hough in 1941. Here the problem of legal sanity arises. A diagnosis of "schizophrenia" itself does not define the state of legal sanity. There are schizophrenics who are perfectly aware of what they are doing and any expert panel of specialists would acknowledge them to be legally sane. A diagnosis itself does not release a person from responsibility. The Americans do not take that into consideration. They believe that if a physician diagnoses a patient as being "schizophrenic" this clearly resolves the question about his legal sanity, i.e., the patient is not responsible for his actions. Nothing of the kind. There are patients who are in remission. They are employed and perform their social functions normally. If such persons commit any kind of illegal acts they can be brought to court. In cases involving slow progressive schizophrenia this occurs rather frequently.

Incidentally, Professor Smulevich at our Center for Mental Health is carrying out intensive research in this area where attempts are being made to differentiate slow progressive schizophrenia from neurotic states which are primarily due to external stress factors. This is a major scientific problem and research in this area is also being conducted at the World Health Organization. This problem is made additionally complex by the fact that political and social factors also weigh upon this kind of diagnosis. This places a very serious impediment in the path of scientists engaged in this problem.

It is generally known that the West, and particularly the USA, has for many years now continued to wage a campaign in which the USSR is accused of exploiting psychiatry for political purposes. One of the results of that campaign was that we broke off official relations with the Association of Psychiatrists at the Psychiatry Congress in Honolulu. On a number of occasions we have suggested that the entire matter be examined in a calm fashion and that the subject be discussed in a professional manner. Moreover, the doors of our clinics have not been closed to our Western colleagues. Witness

the fact that scientific contacts with American psychiatrists are continuing. Several of them have visited our institutions. For example, the American psychiatrist Joseph Works asked for permission to examine Oleg Smirnov who has been pictured in the West as one of the leaders of the "Moscow Civil Rights Protection Organization." The American specialist's conclusion was in complete accord with our diagnosis, i.e., this person is seriously ill. And when Works tried to write about this in the journal PSYCHIATRIC NEWS, there was an immediate outcry that he was "worked over by the Soviets." The political manipulation of this problem leads to such phenomena as the widely touted "Dyess Document" according to which psychiatry in general is ranked among repressive and punitive methods. Today many psychiatrists, including those in the USA, are registering their protest against that document.

There is a large number of sincerely misled persons who believe the fabricated stories propagated by the mass media in the West. Soviet psychiatrists have offered to sit at the conference table. We have invited the participation of even those psychiatrists who willingly or not have contributed to the enlargement of that campaign of distortion. There is a need to have serious discussions about the classification, diagnosis, treatment, and social and legal aspects of mentally ill persons in our country. However, as soon as we come forward with specific proposals, we run into silence or a reluctance to make contacts.

[Question] Is it not possible that in certain situations a physician, because of professional cliquishness, could be inclined to an illegal hospitalization of a patient, thereby committing an unlawful act?

[Vartanyan] A lot depends upon the physician, his training, education, professionalism, and morals. No one would dare to declare that excesses are impossible. At the same time we must thoroughly analyze what kind of mechanism it is that allows that sort of thing to happen. For example, frequently out of concern for the patient's interests we attempt to tell him things that do not correspond to reality. One might draw an analogy here to the cancer patient. Not all physicians would agree that a patient should be told that he has cancer. We are not frank with all our patients. And the manner in which we attempt to treat the patients is a purely professional matter.

For example, in refusing to eat during a self-imposed diet, young girls can bring themselves to emaciation or even death. If a physician is unable to reason with such patients he may have resort to certain other methods, even forced feeding, in order to save the person. In such complex situations we have a conflict between moral and purely professional problems. If you ask whether or not there are reasons to think that the contemporary state of science is a cause of abuses, then I would answer in the negative.

[Question] But still many are inclined to see only the "black side" of psychiatry and conceive it to be a system of personality suppression in which the manifestation of individuality and non-conformity is considered an anomaly. What, in your opinion, are the reasons for the fact that certain major artists such as Milosz Forman have turned to the "psychiatric" theme? What can you, as a psychiatrist, say about the novel by Ken Kisi which was recently published in the journal NOVYY MIR and the film "One Flew Over the Cuckoo Nest" which was based on that novel?

[Vartanyan] I think that it was no accident that this film came out in the 70's at the peak of the "anti-psychiatry" campaign. I saw it a long time ago and I appreciate the brilliant directing of Forman and the masterful performance of the principal protagonist Jack Nicholson. We recently showed the film during an All-Union seminar of young psychiatrists. Opinions were divided there. There were some who felt that psychiatry appeared as a punitive area of medicine. Others thought the film was anti-psychiatry. But don't forget that the film's representations of "patient - society" relationships have a definitive ideological base. The "Dyess Document" is a continuation and further elaboration of that very same line which asserts that if one is not free to do whatever one wishes and if some kind of restrictions are placed on a person, then this represents the use of psychiatry for punitive purposes.

If one views schizophrenia as an illness of society and as a "form of existence," but not as a medical problem, then that concept has the right to exist. But decades of our clinical experience has proven that everything is not like that.

It even seems strange for Soviet psychiatrists to discuss whether or not the medical model of schizophrenia has the right to exist. No one would pay any serious attention to you because we are absolutely convinced of the fact that this is an illness like many other human illnesses. And the fact that it is being treated by psychotropic drugs confirms my point of view. Today no one has any doubts about the fact that in many cases this is a genetic illness.

It is now very important that we select the proper tone to discuss these problems. Let these problems be a topic of public discussion. However, in my opinion, making a big hullabaloo about it can hardly be of any help. Positive knowledge must be brought to the masses. We must openly discuss all of our difficulties but we must speak of them in a competent fashion and in a way that educates people. There was at one time the concept that profound social factors underlie mental illnesses but that such problems could not exist in a socialist country. That kind of erroneous conception prevailed in our country for many years. It did not correspond to reality. That was one of the reasons for the taboo placed on the elucidation of psychiatric problems. COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Pravda," "Zhurnalist," 1988. 6289

Poor Prospects for Social Rehabilitation of Juvenile Offenders

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[Article by OGONEK special correspondent Dmitriy Likhanov: "Barbed-Wire Heaven: Letters from a Colony"]

[Excerpts] A colony is not simply a row of barracks, a barbed-wire fence, and the barking of guard dogs. A colony is a place where people's suffering, pain, and misfortunes have been concentrated. Especially if it is a colony for juveniles.

III

"On 10 September 1983, at 1900 hours, when the prisoners from the production zone were called to formation, the colony chief, who had been in that assignment for the third day, decided to keep all the prisoners in formation until one missing prisoner showed up, and to put into DIZO (disciplinary solitary confinement) five prisoners who had been given a demerit for being out of uniform. The order, which was disproportionate to the violations that had been committed, evoked the prisoners' dissatisfaction, and they flew off the handle.

"At 2125 hours a group of prisoners consisting of 120 persons surrounded the DIZO building, used threats and physical force to break the resistance of the colony workers, forced them out, and broke the doors of the DIZO, releasing from it all the violators who had been confined there. The prisoners began to destroy property everywhere: they set fire to the DIZO, the bath house, the laundry, the storehouse, the club house, and the school. They smashed windows, broke production equipment and stock, and stole commodities from the storehouse. Several of the prisoners, who obtained alcohol-based glue in the production zone, put themselves into a state of intoxication. The prisoners made repeated attempts to break into the checkpoint and the headquarters area, but they were stopped by the detail on duty... After making breaks in the basic fence, 132 prisoners left the confines of the colony.

"At 0230 hours on 11 September, apparat personnel from the UVD and the ITU (Corrective-Labor Institution), and four fire trucks were brought into the colony.

"Throughout 11 September, preventive work was carried out, the active participants in the hooligan actions were identified and isolated, and a search for the escaped prisoners was carried out. The damages came to 60,000 rubles. There were no fatalities."

"During the nighttime hours between 13 and 14 June 1986, at 2320 hours, a group of prisoners in the second detachment left the dormitory and headed for the DIZO. After breaking down the door, they released 18 prisoners. Another group attempted to set fire to the fence

around the dividing corridor and then, after breaking it, penetrated into the production zone, where they broke the windows and doors in the shops, the ITU, and the medical center, and stole instruments and medicines. After joining up with the hooligan prisoners, the prisoners in the fourth detachment and partially the third detachment attempted to destroy the checkpoint area by throwing rocks and metal bars at it. To stop the hooligan actions and prevent a mass escape by the prisoners, guard Maksimenko and militiaman Samsonov fired warning shots. In addition, the guards in the towers fired shots from their submachine guns..."

So here I am again. But this time I am inside. I stroll down the sometimes empty and sometimes bustling streets and back alleys of this small "state," I talk to its oldtimers and newcomers, with those who are in charge and those who have had their rights taken away, I think about everything, and I want to understand it: what kind of "country" is this? What are its inhabitants thinking about when they express their indignation or stamp their feet without uttering a word as they walk across the hot asphalt parade ground? What kind of thoughts and mental impulses do they carry within themselves under their sweaters and their gray berets? What laws — spoken and unspoken — guide them and, in the final analysis this is what agitated me more than anything else — what will they be like when they leave this corrective labor colony? What kind of people will they be?

IV

At the medical center I copy the medical records on small cards the size of half a sheet of note paper: "Complaints about periodic pains in the area of the heart, was carried on the narcotics specialist's records because of narcotics use"; "Diagnosis: feeble-mindedness in the debility stage. Came here from a children's home. Suffers from incontinence"; "Feeble-mindedness in the debility stage; passive homosexual."

"Of course this is a problem," psychiatrist Sergey Viktorovich Afanasyev explains to me. "Or, rather, there are three problems: narcotics addiction, feeble-mindedness, and homosexuality. At the present time we have approximately 100 feeble-minded individuals in our records. We used to have more — approximately 40 percent. Their parents are hereditary alcoholics in the second and even third generation. And the kids try alcoholic beverages for the first time at the age of approximately 6 or 7 years. There are a lot of chronic narcotics addicts — about 60 persons. The court prescribed mandatory treatment for some of them. We are treating those individuals. True, sulfadiazine is not the best medication. As for the homosexuals, it is difficult to count them, much less monitor them. Those are the kinds of things we have to deal with. Is it clear to you now?"

No, it is not clear. It is not clear why people who have been born without sin suddenly begin to inject a filthy needle into a vein or why, after living only 6 or 7 years in

this world, they get drunk on vodka. Who has beclouded their awareness and thrown them into the abyss of vice at an early age? Who is to blame for this? Who bears the responsibility?

"You can call me Arkadiy Sergeyevich. I'm in here on [Article] 144 for robbery. I'm about 17 years old. My mother and father were drunk when they were went out on a boat. My dad fell into the water and he was dragged under a barge. His body was found, but he was already blue. But I don't remember anything about that. People have told me about it. Later on, my mother wanted to get married again. I told her that if she married the guy, I would kill him. Well, she married him. But I didn't kill him, although he really was a son of a bitch. My stepfather taught me how to curse and drink vodka. I drank vodka for the first time when I was 6 years old. And when I got drunk, I would become an absolute fool. I would go out in the street with a gun, and if anybody tried to pick a fight with me, I'd point the gun at him. To this day I'm amazed that I never killed anyone! Yes... I also used to beat up my mother for no good reason. I was really a fool. I was put into a mental hospital twice for treatment. I myself don't know why. People say that I'm a fool. My younger brother was in a mental hospital also. And he is only about 6 years old. My sister was born blind... When my stepfather and I got drunk, he would keep me out of school. I didn't like the way they did things there anyway. I studied for about one quarter of an hour in the first grade. I drew all my letters somehow, like sticks. I don't know how to read or write. I'm illiterate. That's how it is. If I drink, then I goof off. Once I roamed over the taiga for a whole year. For me, the taiga is like my home, or maybe even better than that. I used to have dogs and a rifle. I used to go hunting. I killed a squirrel and a sable. Then I bartered the skins, and got cartridges from soldiers. Once I shot an elk. I saw a deer, but I didn't shoot at it. I really felt sorry for it. It's nice in the taiga!"

He took a cigarette butt from behind his ear, struck a match, and drew a deep puff. The word "evil," tattooed onto his wrist in large letters, flashed at me and then disappeared up his sleeve.

"Oh, this?" he asked with a smile. "I have a lot of different ones. Over here on my shoulder is a naked lady, with handcuffs and a knife. Over here some crude expression is tattooed. The guys in prison tattooed me. But I myself thought up the word 'evil,' because I never did see anything other than evil."

Childhood sufferings, in and of themselves, of course, do not lend themselves to any mathematical computations, even the most precise ones, but when they have all been collected together and lined up — as though at an evening check — into an endless sorrowful row, they can say a lot — no, they can shout a lot. Ninety percent of the prisoners in the colony had grown up without a father. Every seventh one had neither a father nor a mother. In other words, he was just a ward of the state, since, from

an early age, the only thing that he had done was to be shunted around from one orphanage to another, to children's homes, to boarding schools, and to special vocational-technical schools. For people like that, the colony is only the latest in a series of refuges, and nothing more than that, because out there, on the other side of the high fence, they do not have anything of their own. Only freedom.

And there is one more figure — one which, in my opinion, is the most important one. Only three of the boys ever had their mothers sing lullabies to them. Just three. But there are almost several hundred boys here...

The next day after my arrival at the colony, the boys were writing a composition. They wrote for a long time, with difficulty, since before this, for half a day, they had had to work hard in the production zone. In addition, the topic of the composition was not one of the simplest ones: "Happiness and unhappiness, good and evil."

Good and evil... How many philosophers of the past — from the evangelists to Tolstoy, from Seneca to Dostoyevskiy — had tortured themselves, trying to gain an awareness of those age-old truths of existence. But what about the children? What would they say, those hapless, spiritually tormented inhabitants of the colony? What is evil and what is good in their fence-enclosed world? What kind of happiness and what kind of grief do they encounter here? Let's read what they wrote.

"I'm 17 years old. I have a father, but I don't have a mother. Having a mother is a great happiness! In 1985 my father was sent to an LTP for two years. This was a tremendous unhappiness both for my father and for me. That year I was given a two-year sentence too."

"For 12 years my grandmother took care of me. During that time I saw my mother about twice. Then my grandmother was run over and killed in an automobile accident. My mother came and got me, and took me to Blagoveshchensk. When we arrived there I began smoking, drinking, and stealing."

"The happiest thing for me is when I'm sitting with my friends and relatives, talking to them, even if it is through a pane of glass, and when I get nice letters from my friends and relatives or from a girl who I used to feel happy with before I was a prisoner, when I could sit beside her for a few minutes at a time. Now I'm going to have to forget about all of this for four years."

"My father was no good. He used to drink vodka frequently and it was because of that vodka that my mother left him. Then she married someone else. At first he was normal, and I used to think: now this is real happiness, and we're going to live like normal people. But soon even he was ruined by that damned vodka. At first we would beat me and my sister, and then he hit my mother. So I grabbed a stick and hit him. The next day I left home and began stealing."

"Happiness is when you have everything and you don't have to steal anything. When you don't have to search for anything. When you've got everything right close at hand. Unhappiness is when you don't have anything and you start stealing and then end up in places of incarceration."

There are many such compositions. Probably there are even too many for such a small colony like this — a colony of juveniles who have never known happiness. The life of each one of them is a long sequence of injustice, misfortune, insults and suffering which many adults could not even imagine. And these people are children.

Tolya is as shy and reclusive as a young girl. He studiously picks at a callus on his broad palm — a farmer's palm — and speaks without raising his eyes. Before answering, he mentally selects the words he will use. This is the fourth year he has been in the colony, and soon he will be released, but Tolya does not have anywhere to go, because even since he was an infant Tolya has been passed around from one orphanage or special boarding school to another. When I asked him about the happiest day in his life, he simply could not remember anything happy.

"All right, then. What was an unhappy day? Did you ever have an 'unhappiest' day?"

He finally stopped picking at his callus. Once again he remained silent for a long time. Then he said, barely audibly, "Yes."

Then he fell silent again. Finally he added, "When my father killed my mother. Right in front of me. I hollered at him, and I cried, but he killed her with a hatchet — he just chopped her down. Don't ask me any more questions, okay?"

V

According to the official papers concerning another case, a young boy has been a prisoner for half a year because he stole an outboard motor. A third one got two years for stealing a moped. In literally every case one reads the words: "by collusion" and "secretly stole." The kids themselves are also referred to in an unusual manner, by first name and patronymic.

I do not know the judges who imprisoned all these lop-eared Oleg Gennadyeviches and Ivan Petroviches. Note, it may be that from a formal point of view these sentences were impeccable. But there also is another side, another point of reference. It was not hardened criminals who they had judged. They were children. Children who had stumbled, who had made mistakes, and who were truly unhappy. And that is the first thing to consider.

To tell you the honest truth, I really wanted to shout: what are you doing, you people's judges? We're all adults and we are perfectly aware of what's what. Are we really to believe that six sweaters and 20 pairs of construction mitts constitute such a considerable loss to the government that a person gets a 3-year sentence, especially if one considers that that loss was reimbursed long ago. Or an outboard motor that probably has already been returned to its owner. What's going on here, comrade judges?

I foresee a completely justified reproach — but what about the inevitability of punishment: if you forgive them once, twice, or a third time, they'll grab you by the neck, they'll come at you swinging a knife to the right and left, they'll snatch purses from honest citizens. Is that what all this will lead to, they ask.

I agree: complete leniency is improper. But that's not what I'm talking about. What I'm talking about is whether our society has to isolate our children for two, three, or four years. They may be prodigal children, and they may have sinned, but, after all, they are our own children! And which kind of education is better: education outside of penal institutions, or education inside of them?

VI

Now we shall discuss what is perhaps the most important thing without which any colony would be completely inconceivable, and particularly a children's colony — education.

The number of military personnel who have been called upon to replace the young fellows' mothers and fathers is not really so large. A total of six of them are professional teachers. The others have secondary legal or even technical education. I estimated that for every hundred children there is a total of five educators, of whom only one is a professional. Proportions such as this, which, to use a mild term, are unpedagogical, can no longer be encountered anywhere — not in a children's home, not in a boarding school, and especially not in a civilian school. There is even a surplus of teachers there. But in the colonies there is a chronic shortage which, moreover, has been planned and legalized by the table of organization. It is as though this is not a special institution at all, an institution where everyone — literally everyone — needs urgent pedagogical aid, but, rather, is an alpine resort for young violinists with an aristocratic background. And so a sinful thought creeps in: why is it that the number of educational efforts expended on children who in every sense are getting along favorably is much larger — at least quantitatively — than those expended on those children who, under these conditions, need those efforts first of all, on the children in the colonies? Could it be because a person — it is unimportant whether he is an adult or a child — who has been brought to court and given a sentence is automatically branded as

a pariah, so that, consequently, the amount of efforts expended on him — including those pertaining to education — is by no means mandatory. Things will work themselves out.

Okay, then. In the final analysis, even one educator — even if he is a genuine one, rather than one designated as such for reporting purposes only — is a great moral force: the crux of the matter is not that he can put a hundred, or a thousand lads on the true path — there are lots of examples of this, and there is no need to enumerate them. Let us talk instead about the quality of education. Since, regardless of how you look at it, this is still the most important thing at a colony.

All right, then. That is all that education is. So why bother your head about the inveterate offenders? Just put him in solitary. If he hasn't misbehaved, you can limit yourself to having a discussion with him. It's all very simple...

We started up a conversation completely randomly. He is 17 years old. He has a good record with the administrators.

"Can I speak frankly?" he asked.

"Of course."

"But, in general, I'm a bit afraid to."

"Why is that?"

"Well, I'm going to be released soon. And the people here do not like criticism. They might add on a supplementary decision."

"Supplementary decision?"

"Well, yes... Putting it more simply, they will punish you. You'd be surprised at what they can do... In principle, a decision can be slapped on you for absolutely no reason. Everything depends on the relationships you have with the educator. If you obey him, everything is normal. But if you don't, you can rot in here with all those decisions. Things like that have happened before."

"Well, what's so terrible about that?"

"You can't tell. This is what the system is like: if you have a lot of decisions, you will not be given a provisional pardon, even if you try to get one. Even if you have just one decision and you are released, you better believe that this is certainly no real kind of release. You will have to report in to the militia every two hours. In actuality, it is house arrest."

When speaking about education, I involuntarily turn to the events that occurred four years ago and last year, to the times of the riots, since those riots were nothing else

but a completely understandable reaction to the trampling of justice and law, to the establishment of immoral, antipedagogical principles in the life of the colony. This is what was said about this in the official materials pertaining to the procurator's inspections:

"A widespread phenomenon in the colony was the crude and tactless treatment of the prisoners, and the coming on duty in an unsober state. In connection with the beating of prisoners, educator Krasov has been brought to criminal responsibility. For purposes of exerting influence upon the bulk of the prisoners, it was the practice to introduce on a broad scale into the aktiv persons who forced other prisoners to obey them under the threat of the use of force. Special advantageous conditions were created for those persons in the serving of punishment, improved living conditions were created for them, violations of the standard operating rules were covered over, psychological encouragement was given to them, there were instances of forgery in preparing early-release documents, and no efforts were made to stop the practice of coercion and forcing some prisoners to act as servants for others. The conflict between the aktiv in the amateur-performance organizations and the violators of the colony conditions who did not support the administrators manifested itself in group beatings of the prisoners by one another. The low exactingness and the lack of person discipline on the part of the VTK administrators, and the insufficient professional training, led to a situation in which the processes occurring among the prisoners frequently became uncontrollable."

"In 1985-1986, as a result of drunkenness, 37 colony employees committed violations of labor discipline and public order."

"On 27 March 1987, an educator in the sixth detachment, overstepping his authority, beat up a prisoner for smoking in a non-smoking area."

In general that educator is a pretty good guy. He is young, dynamic, and smart. We stand there, chitchatting about this and that. He graduated from an educational institute, and got a certificate as a teacher of French. For several years after that, he made ends meet by providing literary and technical translations from time to time. But out here in the Far East there is not exactly a critical need for French. In a word, life was becoming more difficult for him, and he has a family and children. So he decided to get a job at the colony as an instructor. The pay is pretty good there. Of course the money is a matter of no small importance. I have absolutely no intention of judging him for his motivation, but his taking of a job that put him in contact with children cannot be called anything short of poor judgment on his part. A person should take that kind of job because of love. Couldn't it be that this is the basic reason for the most complete pedagogical helplessness that people sometimes attempt to substitute for the education of the most difficult children, the children who need tender loving care? I will probably make no mistake if I say that not a single

Makarenko exists in any of our country's colonies. But most unfortunately we have a tremendous number of Krasovs who, like Gogol's noncommissioned officers, will give you a fist in the mouth at the slightest provocation. I do not know about other people, but I am a bit worried by this thought, since I wonder about what our children will be like when they are released. I wonder about what they will believe in, other than the power of the fist, if they ever get through this kind of correction.

In this regard I would like to mention something else. A person's soul, and doubly so for a child, does not tolerate emptiness. And if this spiritual vacuum is created, it can be filled instantaneously with absolutely anything, with all kinds of trash and garbage.

In the colony, for example, I was told about one guy who became ill and was sent to the hospital for criminals. The administrators there could not think of anything better than to put him in the same ward with a dyed-in-the-wool thief and repeat offender for whom a camp or a prison were all the same to him — they were his home. Well, this young fellow had never before in his life met human compassion. Instead, all he had ever received was shouts and slaps on the back of the head. Now, to his complete surprise, he found this compassion in a thief, and at the same time absorbed that thief's entire philosophy and morality. And he absorbed everything so well that several weeks later he returned to the colony as a completely different person — as a copy of the repeat offender whom he had met.

Incidentally, the criminal world has been waging a struggle for a long time for the minds of the young people who arrive in the colonies. The criminal world needs fresh personnel. It needs people to carry out its orders, people who, for the sake of the brotherhood of thieves, can and must carry out any crimes, even the most heinous ones.

At the Khabarovsk Kray Administration of Criminal Investigation I was shown a few appeals that had been written by hardened criminals at the Zlatoustovskiy Prison. Among other things, they state: "We vagrants send this appeal to you — pay more attention to the young people who are incarcerated under general and maximum-security conditions. They are our hopes for the future!"

Is that just a figure of speech? Not just that. First of all, it is a struggle. And if one considers how many of these so-called "negatively-minded prisoners" exist in children's colonies, and how many of them commit new crimes after being released, then it is not always that we have been winning this struggle. And this is the last example of this. One young prisoner, after listening in quarantine to a miserable lecture about the aktiv, asked the flabbergasted educator point-blank, "What do you want to do — make Communists of us? Don't bother trying. Nothing will come of it..."

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More Precise Regulations for Militia's Use of Firearms Urged

18000277 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Apr 88 p 6

[Article by S. Zhigalov; "One Night at the Garage"]

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 April 1988 carries on page 6 an 800-word article by staff correspondent S. Zhigalov entitled "One Night at the Garage." The report describes a militia stakeout of a garage where two known criminals were expected to commit a robbery. The militia officers surprised the

thieves as they entered. One thief fled and an officer followed after him. The thief fired a sawed-off shotgun at the officer and wounded him seriously, but was eventually captured.

After the officer recovered, an IZVESTIYA reporter interviewed him and asked him why he hadn't fired back. The officer answered, "I was afraid of unpleasant consequences for myself." The reporter then spoke with another local militia officer, the recipient of many decorations for valor, who said that he wouldn't have fired either. "Why not? Because of the lack of preciseness in the regulations for militia men concerning the use of firearms. Criminals know very well that even in critical situations we try not to use our weapons, and they take advantage of this." He urges that more precise regulations on the use of firearms by militia officials be established "for the sake of all honest citizens, whose peace of mind, health, and lives we guard."

Roundtable Discussion on Dniester's Ecological Demise Held

18110045 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian
3 Jan 88 p 2

[Discussion entitled: "Save the Dniester: RADYANSKA UKRAYINA's Roundtable Discussion with Scholars, Cultural Leaders, and Production workers."]

[Text] Bohdan Sushynskyy's article "Ecological Concerns for the Dniester" (RADYANSKA UKRAYINA, 21 May 1987) has created a significant interest from the readers of our newspaper, scholars, specialists of agricultural enterprises, and, generally, all those who are not indifferent to the fate of one of our largest rivers, all those who are very concerned about the ecological future of the Dniester area countryside. As proof of this interest we have had numerous telephone inquiries coming to the editorial office, as well as public reaction which the article has created among the population of our republic.

Many comments about the article have already been published by our newspaper. Others are being prepared for publication. In the meantime we are providing our newspaper's roundtable discussion with the writer Bohdan Sushynskyy. The other participants are: Henrikh Ivanovych Shvebs, doctor of geographical science, leading specialist on the Dniester's ecological condition, professor of the Odessa State University, Head of the Odessa Section of the Geographical Society of the UkSSR; Alla Ivanivna Khodko, doctoral candidate of biological sciences, docent of the Odessa Agricultural Institute; Anatoliy Vasylyovych Skalyha, chief agronomist of the Bogdanivskiy state farm, in the Bashtanskiy Rayon, Nikolayev Oblast; Maria Petrivna Terpak, and agronomist, brigade leader of the Uzhgorodskiy state farm, Uzhgorodskiy Rayon, Transcarpathian Oblast; and Vasyl Ivanovych Doykov, and agronomist of plant protection, from the Suvorov kolkhoz in the Tatarbunarskiy Rayon, Odessa Oblast.

The Writer: By considering philosophically the ancient unity and interdependence of man and the soil, of a farmer and his land, the poet Eduard Mezheylaitis once said: "Man lives by bread, however at first the field feeds on human perspiration and wisdom. Bread does not come of itself." Just consider those words: "... human perspiration and wisdom." Well, in terms of perspiration, Ukrainian fields never lacked it, since they had been getting it from hundreds of generations of our ancestors, as well as millions of our contemporaries. We may be certain that our descendants shall not begrudge it too. However, in terms of our agricultural wisdom, the problem is a little more complicated and acute. From a certain period on, a sizable portion of all the projects dealing with draining land, irrigation, diverting of waters, land reclamation and development... more and more often prove to be not well planned, untested, and, what is most painful, completely not in concordance with the principles of nature itself. This, in turn, has led to the disappearance of many small rivers and the rise of

many complicated ecological problems in the basins of the Dnieper, the Dniester, and the Southern Bug rivers, as well as in a number of lakes in the Danube area, especially Sasyk, Kugurluy, Yalpug.... Finally, these crisis situations have also affected the productivity of agriculture, the state of agricultural husbandry as a whole, and the ecological niche in which, and due to which, we exist on this earth.

Quite a few ecological concerns have accumulated recently in Ukraine. However, today I would like to discuss problems related to the Dniester, its basin and all the phenomena which accompany the ecological crisis of this large river.

— Henrikh Ivanovych, it is well known that you are the leading specialist of problems related to the Dniester, while the department of physical geography, which you head at the Odessa State University, has actually become a unique scientific consulting center, where the river's basin is being studied consistently and for quite a long time now.

Can we speak now of any serious achievements, of any serious attempts at solving problems related to the Dniester? And just what is the situation now in the river's basin?

H. I. Shvebs: It is a good thing that the press has taken up the matter of raising the ecological problems related to the Dniester, and that it has started a serious discussion of the principles related to our work on the Dniester's shores, and in general, the attitude to this river. The more so, since it is actually a discussion of problems which also relate to the Dnieper, the Desna, the Southern Bug, Zbruch, and many other rivers, both large and small. After all it is time for us to comprehend the role of a given river in terms of the national economic complex and in the specific economic system, as well as in safeguarding our vital activities.

In 1951, while still a student, I made my first expedition down the Dniester river. During the last 14 years as a scientist I have dealt directly with problems related to this river. This extensive period of contact with the river gives me the opportunity to observe the dynamics of ecological changes, to compare situations which have taken place here during the last 35 years, and together with other people in the department, to evaluate these situations and provide prognoses for them. I must say one thing, the Dniester's situation is so complicated, that even with certain differences in opinion in terms of the evaluation of specific developments, the danger of the whole situation cannot be overestimated. I am particularly concerned with the Dniester's marshes. Everybody knows that they encompass a huge area (approximately 19,000 hectares), a unique natural phenomenon, and it is very hard even to depict their significance for the river and the surrounding steppe. Actually, they serve as a giant natural filter, by which the river cleanses itself, rejuvenates itself, while at the same time supports a large

number of fish, birds, and plant, and animal life. Sadly, this natural breeding ground is now dying. Reservoirs, which have been built on the Dniester, regulate the flow to such a degree that for 3 years now there have been no floods with which the river cleanses itself and replenishes its oxygen stores. Besides that, last autumn up to 40 percent of marshes burned up. Fires also used to take place here previously. However, until now, at the most 20 percent of the reed mass would burn, and only to the level of the water. Since the root stem would remain undamaged, the biomass regenerated quite quickly. But this time the fire damaged the root system also because large tracts of the marsh area have died out.

The decay of marshes is becoming obvious also. Herbivorous birds, especially the "coot" (also called "mud hen") for a long time now have served as an indicator of the area's ecological state of health. During the last 4 years the number of these birds has decreased by 12 to 15 times. The same type of situation is facing many other types of birds, fish, and animals which traditionally live and multiply here. Also, we can't ignore the state of the water supply to Odessa and other cities and villages on both sides of the Dniester river.

The local press has written about this already, and several letters authored by scientists and collectively signed have been published on this. But what can be done, when while building that bottomless Novodniestrovsk water reservoir the planners and builders had little interest in the ecological and social effects their man-made sea would cause. It is because of it that the lower end of the river, including Odessa and other cities have begun to "choke for lack of water." Significant damage is also being done by various canning factories, animal farms and complexes, as well as the discharge of unfiltered sewage in the area of Tyraspol and other cities. And the large and small tributaries of the Dniester—don't they look like drainage ditches these days?

Recently our industrial managers have begun to put up walls around large areas of the marshes, thus creating fishproducing ponds. Obviously, these artificial lakes are quite profitable. But don't these managers see that their walls increase considerably the stagnancy of the marshes and thus facilitate their decay and death?

This is the general situation today in the area of the Dniester. I am glad that the community has finally become worried about this. This is going to represent a significant support for us, scientists, in our department, who numerous times, with persuasive letters, position papers, and other documents, have turned to various higher offices, all the way to the USSR Council of Ministers. However, it is still too early to talk about any significant transformations or any positive changes in the Dniester situation.

The Writer: There are concerns that this situation may change for the worse. There is a plan to build a Dniester-Tytilgul canal; basically, as you remember, the plan is to

close off the Dniester estuary along the route from the city of Ovidiopol to the city of Bilgorod-Dniestrovskiy. But then the salt sea water would rise to the level of this route also, and would cover half of the estuary. And the remaining portion of the estuary would turn into a dying fresh water reservoir. We should remember that this canal is considered part of the grandiose "Danube-Dnieper" Project, by which unbelievably dirty Danube water, from the "sewage pipe of Europe," is to salify and begrime quite generously the whole southern Ukrainian steppe. And, if diverting the Dniester waters into Tytilgul could lead to a catastrophe only on the Dniester, then the realization of the Danube-Dniester Project (which considering the entire infrastructure, is being assessed by specialists at costing 30 billion rubles, with the cost of the canal at 4.2 billion)—could lead to unforeseen (however, by should they be unforeseen?) results for agriculture across the whole southern section of the republic. We are talking here not only about the salification, but also about the flooding of huge tracts of land. According to figures provided by the Odessa Branch of the Institute of Economics of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences, even now, in three southern Ukrainian oblasts nearly 240,000 hectares of land have been muddied and flooded over—and this in zones in which there are hundreds of cities, settlements, and villages.

Quite recently an all-union conference of soil specialists took place in Odessa; a portion of the scientists asked whether the further development of irrigation is at all worthwhile. Whether in our drive for a temporary increase in a high yielding harvest are we not ruining the agriculture of Ukraine's southern area?

H. I. Shvebs: I have already expressed my position on the Danube-Dnieper system project in a paper given at a scientific seminar on Ecological Problems of the Dniester, which took place last year in Odessa. Opinions expressed in the press by many scientists (who analyze this project from various points, economic, ecological, and social)—also support our concerns. Personally, I am definitely against the project to close off the Dniester estuary. And generally, in our department, we think that it would be better not to accept any hurried grandiose projects, but rather to study without fail the complex of problems involving the Dniester, taking into account the interests of energy specialists who manage the water reservoirs, and of land-reclamation workers, as well as ecological interests.

There is a particularly interesting idea to create (together with scientists from the university of Rostov-on-Don) a mathematical model of the Dniester, by starting a data bank of all the available parameters, which should later make it easier to study and foretell various situations. In our department we have real enthusiasts of this idea. But enthusiasm is not enough, someone has to finance such research and projects. I think that we need one scientific center which would be concerned with the problems of the Dniester river, and which would provide recommendations to managers.

The Writer: The situation is still quite paradoxical: in a country where nearly 600 serious scientific research and project-design organizations are called upon to deal with water management problems, today we have no institution which would perform in-depth studies of the Dniester problems. And we are planning on creating a geo-ecological system, a system model (circumstances are compelling us to take this action), at Rostov University, which lies beyond the bounds of our republic, and is about a thousand kilometers away from the Dniester—even though, not very far from the river there are several centers of higher education. I think that the Councils of Ministers of both the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian SSR are taking too much of a wait-and-see position. It is long past the time that they should have created an inter-republic committee to coordinate efforts to save the Dniester.

A. I. Khodko: I would like to add, that the problems of the Dniester, as well as of all our land, cannot be solved separately from the problems of small rivers. As a scientist, I had the sad duty to be one of those compiling the Odessa Oblast Red Book; the work is now close to completion. Believe me, the pages of this book are saddening. In the Odessa area alone, there is a threat of complete extinction of 67 types of higher plants, 29 types of birds, 14 types of mammals, 7 types of fish, 16 types of insects.... By diverting river beds, by draining flood lands, by plowing up entire valleys and hill-sides—we are not only leading the river to extinction, but we are also leading many types of plants and animals to the brink of extinction.

I am quite in agreement with Prof H. I. Shvebs, that a catastrophe in the Dniester marshes may lead to an even bigger tragedy for the plant and animal world.

A. V. Skalyha: Our kolkhoz lands are next to the Ingul river. This river does not belong to the Dniester basin, however its fate is also of concern. That is why we are concerned about developments in plans to close off the Dnieper-Buzkiy estuary, as well as discussions dealing with the "Danube-Dnieper" Project, knowing quite well that the success or failure of these project will also impact on the ecological situation in the Nikolayev area. There was also a time at our state farm when 30 hectares of the Ingul river bed were plowed. We were even quite proud that we had assimilated new lands. Nevertheless, where did this lead to, and not only on our farm? We have land erosion of slopes, the river and its tributaries and its source of nourishment have filled up with silt; plant and animal life is declining sharply. Cattle is left without pasture.

I don't know whether we have come to our senses in time, but now this area is planted with a forest and has been transferred to the local forestry people. Even now changes may be seen: turf has appeared, the forest has created a certain microclimate which is favorable both for agriculture and for recreation, and soil erosion has been reduced.

M. P. Terpak: While I follow the publications about the Dniester's problems (a river which begins in our part of the country, in the Carpathian Mountains), it is with great pain that I see that things are also not well with small Carpathian rivers. There is too much water being removed, and the rivers are becoming quite shallow. Even now many springs don't have any water, or have so little of it that it loses its drinkable qualities. It is probably because we don't always use a sound approach while pumping the water from wells or while delivering it to commercial enterprises. We should also have a wiser approach to the development of hill-sides. There are areas where it is better not to plow or plant, but rather sow perennial grasses. We should be particularly concerned with the ecological health of the Carpathian Mountains, since most Ukrainian rivers begin there. To our scientists and planners I would also like to suggest the following: when working on ecological projects—don't be embarrassed to ask us, agricultural specialists, for advice. After all, who should know the local environment better, and who is more aware of the river's role in the regional ecosystem?

V. I. Doykov: For 6 years now we have been using the irrigation system in our fields, this area covers almost 4,000 hectares, therefore we do have some experience in this. Data from the first few years showed very striking results due to irrigation. However, several years having passed by the situation has changed noticeably. Even now we can see that on many areas the soil structure is negatively affected, and its humus content is lowered. The soil looks compressed; it cracks so often, that in some places it reminds one of a dried out lake bed. And how can we hide the fact that in the Sasyk estuary (whence water flows to the fields) fresh water salt saturation occasionally reaches 3 grams per liter, when the desired level should be under 0.5 grams. Besides this, the Danube water is contaminated with chemical and other types of industrial wastes. Who can predict what our chernozem will look like in 5 or 10 years?

The flooding of lands, the muddying of lowlands, and the flooding of villages represent a true misfortune. The water which is left after flooding (and our machinery is not perfect) carries away with it the chernozem, fills up small rivers with silt, and facilitates erosion. As an agricultural specialist I am quite aware that our Food Program is quite intense. Nevertheless, I would suggest that we restrain ourselves from hurriedly covering the whole of southern Ukraine with water, while our level of knowledge and technical possibilities remain what they are today. We need a reliable ecological forecast, much better irrigation equipment and a better irrigation method; we need to be more concerned with training the necessary personnel. We really need this manpower because we are simply losing too much valuable water—to the detriment of the land increased manpower is also a means of saving the Dniester. And it definitely needs to be saved. Immediately.

The Writer: Today we still have the chance to save the Dniester. But in a year or so we may lose this very last

hope. Academician Timiryayev once said that dominion over the land is not a right, or a privilege, but an obligation which threatens us with the need to answer to our descendants. Our scientists love to quote these words, but do they always consider their prophetic meaning? And do they teach us to consider them? And it is time they did teach us. Let us remember that for the fate of the Dniester and the Dniester-area we are answerable not only before our direct descendants, but also the whole of mankind.

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Crimean Tatar Urges Patience Over Autonomy Issue

18300201 [Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 27 March 1988 carries on page 4 a 900-word article by Sh. Idrisov, chief of the quality control department at the Leninabad "Koopkhozskulttorg" entitled "Long on Friendship" in which the author, a Crimean Tatar, exhorts other Crimean Tatars who live in Tajikistan to stop agitating and wait to see what the special government commission that has been created to study the question of autonomy comes up with. In Idrisov's opinion, the Crimean Tatars ought to consider first the social uprooting and job chaos that would occur if tens of thousands of families tried to move to Krym Oblast, which today is already a densely populated territorial administrative unit. He points out that in the past Crimean Tatars were not mentioned in the media, as though they did not exist, but today they serve on local political boards just like any other fully enfranchised people. But now some have begun to work up passions, arouse public opinion, and even incite people to take illegal action. He is against extremism itself as well as against attempts by others to identify all Crimean Tatars as extremists, but he says it is not worth paying much attention to instigators who agitate on behalf of creating a Crimean Tatar autonomous republic, who collect signatures on petitions that make doubtful sense. Before espousing such an oversimplified approach, he says, "we ought to think it over 100

times...otherwise we risk making another historical mistake and committing another social injustice. We need to be patient. After all, the government commission is looking at this question from all sides and, I suspect, will find the right solution."

ArSSR: Efforts To Assist Armenian Refugees From Sumgait

18300200 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian
18 Mar 88 p 2

[ARMENPRESS report]

[Text] As has been reported, after the well-known events in the city of Sumgait, families and citizens of Armenian nationality have been coming to Armenia.

As of the present time, 1,761 people (435 families) have come to the Armenian SSR [An item on page 43 of the DAILY REPORT: SOVIET UNION, FBIS-SOV-88-053, dated 18 March 1988, cited this figure as 1,661 people.]. Some of these people have moved in with relatives; others are being housed temporarily in the republic's hotels.

A commission is examining the questions engendered by the arrival of the citizens from Sumgait. It is headed by Armenian SSR Council of Ministers First Deputy Chairman V. M. Movsisyan.

At the direction of the republic's government, the arriving families and persons in need are being promptly cared for, both materially and otherwise. The requests and petitions of these citizens are being reviewed, and appropriate measures are being taken.

A special group of the USSR Procuracy is conducting an investigation of the events in Sumgait. At the direction of the USSR Procuracy, the Armenian SSR Procuracy has established an investigative group to seek out victims and eyewitnesses who have come from Sumgait and are now in Armenia. This is being done in order to carry out the necessary investigative actions in connection with criminal and legal proceedings to determine the circumstances of the criminal acts which have taken place.

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